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## CELEBRATION OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION AT HAYTI.

[From the *Manifeste*.]

PORTE-AU-PRINCE, AUGUST 29th, 1841.—The following is an account of a philanthropic festival held at Jérémie, to celebrate the seventh anniversary of slave emancipation in the English colonies.

In consequence of a subscription opened at Jérémie (St. Domingo) the 17th of July last, a considerable number of the principal citizens of that city held a meeting on the premises of citizen Margron, and arranged a banquet in celebration of the great act of emancipation passed by generous England. The English naval flag, with the Haytian colours, were displayed on the 31st of July, and in the evening of that day a brilliant illumination announced the fête.

When each had taken the place assigned to him, M. F. Brière, president of the banquet, made the speech following:—

"C'est en fesant du bien aux hommes, qu'on s'approche le plus de la divinité."—Cic.

Fellow citizens,—Selected by you to preside at this honourable meeting, I am really grateful; and I promise to do my best to maintain that order and harmony which should be scrupulously observed. The feeling—I may almost call it religious—with which every one here is impressed, assures me that the meeting will pass in pleasing tranquillity. The object of this fête is most praiseworthy. To rejoice in the happiness of our fellow-men seems to me the purest of all joys. Ah! brothers in the colonies, with what effusions of the heart do we unite to celebrate the anniversary of a day, which has been for you the most beautiful of all days! Be ever grateful for the benefit. Let your conduct prove to the whole world, that man has not been created in the image of God to be classed and assimilated with brute animals. You may prove it by the exercise of all those social virtues, which rarely accompany the unfortunate in a state of abjection, condemned by the avarice and cruelty of his equals. England, magnanimous and generous nation! What delight you must feel in seeing the transports of joy which break forth in your numerous colonies. I believe I hear the grateful thanks of thousands offered to the Creator! These concerts of gladness reach the throne of the Eternal; and the Master of masters bestows upon your happy country his holy benediction. Not satisfied with proclaiming the emancipation of the Africans, you are still occupied, with the greatest zeal, in promoting their moral and religious instruction. Is not this doubling the benefit? What had liberty been without education, which alone leads to a just appreciation of its value? Virtuous philanthropists, who by your solicitude have contributed so much to this great work, enjoy the admiration of all ages; partake of the joy of those you have restored to humanity. May the remembrance of this virtuous action be ever present in your hearts! It is the sweetest recompence virtue can desire. Honour and glory to Great Britain!

The speech of M. Brière was hailed with reiterated applause. Immediately after M. Féry, the vice-president, addressed the meeting—(Universal acclamations marked the sympathies of the assembly). After they had recovered from their emotions produced by the object of the meeting, and the liberal ideas expressed by the two presidents, they partook of the pleasures of the table. Joy was universal, and, according to the programme of the day, the following toasts were given:—

M. Jacques Villedrouin—“Glory and honour to great and magnanimous Albion! May her example put to the blush those

nations which, in the 19th century—the era of light, philanthropy, and civilization—still permit the dreadful slavery and degradation of their equals. Honour to England! May it be reiterated in ages to come and for ever! England is the first nation which, moved by the holy impulse of humanity, wished not that her glorious flag should wave over human beings suffering under abjection, in the chains of slavery. Honour—a thousand times honour to England!”

M. Ane Laforest—“Glory to the very noble and magnanimous English nation.”

J. B. Hugon—“To the philanthropists of the universe.”

Rocher—“To the philanthropists. May they by perseverance make the last of slaves feel the want of liberty!”

Phipps—“May the generous English people, who have endeavoured to propagate liberty throughout the world, never see with an indifferent eye an attempt to extinguish its light in Hayti! May the Haytian open his eyes to the causes of his misery, and employ means most efficacious for a remedy!”

Baptiste Midre—“May the Haytian youth, by perseverance and study, find the means to draw his country from the state of stagnation in which we are placed, and establish all the benefits of our Republican institution!”

J. B. Smith—“May the emancipated be enlightened by national education, based upon the immutable commands of God and the precepts of our Saviour! It is a cruel mockery to say you are a freeman and a good citizen, whilst ignorance and vice are inseparable, and prevent the man from being one or the other. These faults render some inferior, dependent on other men, and accomplices in the frauds of tyranny.”

Alcide—“The English Bill of 1814. That generous Act which history should record in letters of gold, as the greatest benefit rendered in modern times to humanity.”

Chassagne—“To Philanthropy. May its effects, which call to liberty those who remain in chains, at the same time purify and refine those persons who, whatever may be said, are only half free!”

T. A. Blanchet—“To the English people, who exercise with so much wisdom and energy their political rights, in the face of that government which takes its guidance from public opinion, wisely encouraged by the liberty of the press: with the right of petitioning in front of the movement. It is to this happy influence exercised over power by a humane and enlightened people, that civilization owes the abolition of slavery. The era, solid and glorious, which honours that great and generous nation, will rest in remembrance of succeeding generations.”

Magron, Sen.—“To England and her enlightened cabinet we owe the first emancipation of our brothers. May that nation preserve for ever the rank she now holds amongst civilized nations.”

A. C. Fouchard drank to the health of his fellow-citizen Féry, who had so ably supported the object of their civic and patriotic banquet.

Castaing—“To the Marquis of Sligo, ex-governor of Jamaica, the advocate of freedom, for his persevering philanthropy.”

Moreau—“May the liberty, honour, and glory of the English nation live for ever.”

René Isaac—“To the memory of William the Fourth, and her Majesty Queen Victoria, who has so generously continued the execution of the work of her predecessor. This memorable act belongs to powerful men, but liberty is the work of the Creator—it will exist whilst the Thames shall ebb and flow.”

François Dubois—“May the progress of light destroy the prejudices which flow from ignorance!”

S. Mege—“To O'Connell! the eloquent apostle of emancipation and liberty.”

Durin Mege—“To the eternal memory of the martyrs of liberty, who have faced glorious death to sustain and propagate the noble principles of humanity in beautiful England. The glory of the officers and sailors of the English navy who have destroyed the slave-trade.”

F. Hippolyte—“To our citizens who work with the philanthropic English in the happy cause of African emancipation.”

Magron, Fils—“Love, veneration, and eternal gratitude to the champions of our race, hatred and execration to their enemies.”

Charles Arlet (de Bordeaux)—“To the memory of Mirabeau, who first proclaimed the rights of man in the face of all the tyrants of the earth.”

A. Féry—“To the English ladies and their exemplary piety; they have done much in the emancipation which we celebrate this day.”

**Elie Lartigne**—“To the great act of the emancipation of the African race, the triumph of christianity and philanthropy. May we Haytians preserve the liberty gained by our fathers, and not furnish our enemies with arms opposed to the progressive march of the emancipation of our unfortunate brothers!”

Here M. Fouchard spoke to the effect following:—Gentlemen, slavery exists in every part of the earth—it lays its iron hand upon the human race. The rights which the Supreme Being gave to a portion of mankind for the general good, became, in the hands of tyrants, the criminal instruments for placing the yoke of servitude on the weak and ignorant mass. What a frightful picture for humanity! What a sad and affecting spectacle for the philosopher doth man bring to view! He is found sacrificing all feeling, and every sentiment of justice, to the insatiable thirst for riches. Extended upon the bed of opulence, he enjoys his pleasures at the expense of the toil and wretchedness of the unfortunate slave, covered with rags, bowed down by misfortunes, and sinking under excessive labour enforced by the whip. At last the slave expires under the weight of torments, tinging the earth with his blood—that earth from which he gathers fruits for the profit of his destroyers. It belongs to the energy of Hayti to break these chains, and shake the mind by a great and terrible example; frightful to all those who think that the privileged classes are born to keep the rest of men perpetually enclosed within the circle of ignorance, in order to promote their own oppression, and reap the fruits of the labour of the unfortunate. Toussaint, Dessalines, Geffrard, Petion, and other heroes arose. The warlike blood of the children of Africa refused to dishonour the soil. They sought the fields of honour and liberty. With the sword and fire they have fought and regained our rights. The result of their triumph was the proclamation of our liberty! To glorious and powerful England it was reserved to give to men a second example—an example great, generous, and liberal. Object of eternal admiration, this happy event brings before us the sublime sentiment of a nation for the glory of men in general. Having arrived at the memorable epocha of emancipation, which we celebrate this day, England will still endeavour to rescue men from the snares of the oppressor, by imparting a knowledge of their rights, and the advantages procured by liberty, without which life is no more than moral death. O God! lend this great nation thy assistance, and grant thy blessing to the men of all nations, who have opposed our audacious calumniators, and co-operated in the work which constitutes the great philanthropic epocha, distinguished in the annals of the world.

The speeches and toasts which followed were received by the assembly with loud and continued applause.

M. Paret sang Dupré's “Hymn to Liberty.” A hymn to England upon the Emancipation of the slaves, written for this occasion, was also sung by M. Alcide. Want of space will not permit us to report the hymns.

The object of the meeting being entirely accomplished, the President gave the last toast, “The memory of Petion,” after which, the assembly retired from the banquet-hall, and accompanied to their residence the President and Vice-President of the fête.

#### SLAVERY IN THE FRENCH COLONIES.

(From the *Siecle.*)

THE question of the abolition of slavery has given much matter of discussion theoretically, thanks to the subtleties and eccentric systems of those sophists who are not afraid to advance the worst arguments for the purpose of retarding the fall of a degrading and shameful practice. But all incertitude vanishes from the moment when facts are touched upon. Monsieur Victor Schœlcher already known by many important and celebrated works, is now about to publish some useful investigations which he has made on the actual state of our colonies. He has observed personally the situation of the slaves; the exact picture of that situation is the most conclusive reply to the adversaries of emancipation. The work that M. Schœlcher has prepared will furnish documents highly important to the cause of which he has always been one of the most persevering defenders. We publish a fragment of this work, full of interest. The details are equally sad and curious. They show that it is necessary to plead in the most eloquent manner in favour of the emancipation of the blacks. The following is the extract:—

The law does not recognise any civil state in a slave: a circular of the 27th December, 1805, renews this declaration of the edict of 1685, at the time of the promulgation of the civil code in the colonies. The slave exists in the eyes of the law, only by the census of the master. In defiance of the ordonnances of 1827 and 1828, which make it one of the duties of the civil authority to keep registers of the births and deaths of the negroes, the births and deaths of this degraded species are only kept perhaps on a bit of paper, or perhaps on the back of an old account book of the proprietor, as if it were merely a memorandum to aid his private memory. The slave may possess property, but it is only by the tolerance of his master; legally he has nothing—all that he possesses belongs to his proprietor; he can neither buy nor sell; it is not even allowable for him to purchase his freedom, if the master will not consent to sell it him. The state of slavery is an annihilation of all rights and of all faculties, an eternal civil and moral mutilation; a slave has almost nothing in common with his fellow-men but mere animal organization. Always rigorously kept in ignorance, for fear his brain should be susceptible of a development dangerous to his proprietor, he is destined never to know the sublime feelings and inspirations which education would procure for him.

Whatever may be his genius, he cannot quit his position; and, in this respect, modern slavery is more horrible than ancient slavery; for, in the ancient slavery, the free slave could pretend to public employment, to employment of all kinds; the modern slave can aspire to nothing; he is not a man, he is a thing, and he lives in submission to every misery, to all the chances and accidents of a mere material thing.”

At the time of our visit to the prison of Fort Royal a black attached to the great chain approached Monsieur Lemaire, inspector of prisons, who did us the honour to accompany us, and addressed him in the following manner:—

“I have not been condemned—I have done no harm; I was taken one evening for not having a ticket. My master had them to defend himself against another proprietor, who pretends that I belong to him. They have left me here ‘en dépôt,’ and during seven months that their process has lasted I have been in prison and in chains. The masters dispute as to who shall have me; neither one nor the other will clothe me; detained for their account, the prison authorities will not burden themselves with my support, and you see that I am naked. I demand clothing—I demand to be released from chains—I ask to be no longer sent to labour on the public works—I ask to be discharged from prison;” and he finished as he had commenced—“I have done no evil; I have not been condemned.”

The slave spoke tranquilly, and appeared but little to feel the frightful iniquity of which he was the victim. Monsieur Lemaire has a generous heart, but he has inhabited the colonies for fifteen years; he received the declaration tranquilly. We each gave the poor fellow something, and all was finished; he is perhaps yet in gaol.

Behold to what a slave is exposed! Open the first colonial journal that comes to your hand, and you will read announcements like the following:

“In the name of the king, law and justice—

“Information is given to all whom it may concern, that, on Sunday the 26th instant, in the market-place of the borough of St. Esprit, after mass, the public sale will be proceeded with, of

“The slave Susanne, negress, about 40 years of age, with her six children, of 13, 11, 8, 7, 6, and 3 years old.

Being a seizure under execution—cash payment.

“J. CHATENEY, Overseer of the estate.”

Many similar advertisements follow in Monsieur Schœlcher's work.

#### SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter.*

London, 11th Month 14th, 1841.

SIR,—In my last I concluded all questions relative to the slave-trade. I now forward some concerning the legal measures for securing at least a portion of the rights of the slave.

Are manumissions frequent?—“Yes.” Here it may be in place to remark that there is a foundling hospital in Rio, where, by ringing a bell, a semicircular box is turned till it can receive the child in its cavity; when, without further ceremony, its rotatory motion is continued, till it covers the child from the view of the depositor, and delivers it into the possession of the Orphan society. By a law of 1st mo. 31st, 1775, all young slaves so exposed were to be brought up free; but as some owners claimed and received them, on paying the expense of their education, it was declared on 2nd mo. 22nd, 1823, that they must be considered as orphans, and brought up to enjoy all the privileges of freemen, without any impediment whatsoever. Dr. Walsh on this remarks, “such is the operation of slavery, that the bastard becomes free, and the legitimate child continues a bondman.”

Can the slave purchase his own freedom?—“Yes. I have often been applied to by negroes to contribute towards their obtaining their freedom, they showing a certificate from their owner, or parish priest, that it was permitted. I know one negro woman who bought her own freedom for 560 milreis.”

Has the state ever manumitted any for services rendered?—“Yes, a few.”

Is marriage sanctioned, and, if so, is it respected by the non-separation of the parties and families?—“This is generally left entirely to themselves. But, among slaves, I should say there are very few instances of legal marriage being entered into by them. And these would never be respected, if the owner's interest prompted the separation of the parties.”

What number of slaves have been liberated by the Mixed Commission Court? The following answer was kindly afforded me by a person of importance in that very court:—“4121.” He also gave me the list of males and females taken in each ship, by which I found that, of 3437 of the above number, 2409 were males, and only 1028 were females!

What has become of the above-mentioned Africans freed by the Mixed Commission Court in Brazil? “A very few have attained their full freedom, from having concluded the term of their apprenticeship. The greater part have not yet finished that term, and probably will never obtain their liberty, as the persons they have been confided to, with connivance of the authorities, find means of substituting them for such of their own slaves as may die, by obtaining certificates to this effect, and in other ways. The distribution of Africans from condemned slave vessels is a great source of patronage to the Brazilian minister. The director of the house of correction sold many of them, some have been sold to people in Minas Geraes, and friends of ministers in distant places.”

I was credibly informed that the party who receives an apprentice, pays the executive officer of government a fee of one hundred milreis for the favour.

There was a certain individual who boasted on change, that, without application, he had received five of these apprentices;

and, in a very few days afterwards, his name appeared as the patriotic contributor of £500 towards the expense of the war against the rebels of Rio Grande do Sul. His conduct was highly extolled, and the public were strongly appealed to that his noble example might be followed by others.

So much for the result of the labours of the Mixed Commission Court of Brazil, which, during the period of twenty-one years, from 7th month 31st, 1821, to 1841, condemned 22 slaves, and manumitted 4121 slaves.

But it would be an injustice to the cause of abolition were I here to refrain from remarking, that the naval officers are so harassed by the proceedings of this court that they have lately sent vessels elsewhere for trial and adjudication. On more carefully inquiring into the cause of this, I find that the Brazilian judge and secretary are in the pay of the slave-dealers, so that the British judge, if he would, has not the power to act up to the letter of his instructions.

The parties alluded to can always put leading questions to the British judge, as to the procedure to be adopted from time to time against any particular slaver; and thus the slave-traders ascertain exactly what provision to make for the several occasions on which their cause comes before this Mixed Court. Indeed the Brazilian judge, whilst sitting as such, on the trial of the *Nova Aurora*, captured by a British cruiser on 3rd month 16th, 1841, most unjustifiably undertook the defence of that vessel. His speech on the occasion is published in the journal of Rio, now in my possession. The decision was that although there was cause of detention, yet the vessel was discharged, and heavy damages awarded against the captors!

This inconsistency did not escape the vigilance of the British chargé d'affaires, William G. Ouseley, who, in reporting the case to the Brazilian government, especially noticed the extraordinary conduct of their judge. This just and reasonable remonstrance obtained, as usual, an acquiescent reply, but procured no practical result; for the judge, in his two-fold character, still remains in office.

The inefficiency of this court arising, to say the least of it, from its own inconsistency, is easily to be traced in the parliamentary and other official documents relative to its proceedings; especially in the letters of the British Consul of Rio de Janeiro, whose remarks therein contained say much for his experience, and do credit to his head and heart.

But this result, however deplorable, might, by some national remonstrance, be avoided in future, were not the court itself so corrupted by the friendly intercourse of its judges and secretary with the slave-dealers, as to be inflexible in its purpose of frustrating the end for which it was ordained; and this, with such unblushing affrontry, as to continue in its systematic course of indolence in good and industry in evil measures, notwithstanding the reports in the public documents above referred to, wherein we see a remarkable record of the lamentable fact, that the best intended legislation must fail, where honourable, conscientious, and disinterested public officers are wanting to carry its purpose into effect.

Let the naval commanders on the Brazilian station be asked their opinion of this court. Their answer, I say it without fear of differing, will be—we send our prizes elsewhere, whenever we possibly can, because of the misconduct of this mixed commission court.

It requires no small measure of moral energy and courage to resist the slave-dealers, whilst they liberally bribe those who can be bought, and recklessly assassinate those who will not receive the price of blood. As an evidence of the latter, I transcribe the following copy from the original letter which was seized on the person of the captain of the *Maria Carlotta*, a slaver captured by the *Grecian*, 5th month, 29th, 1839, and afterwards condemned by the mixed commission court for having slave fittings, &c. on board.

To SENHOR GASPAR.

"I forward you half-pound of Sal Amargo,\* to be sent to Senhor Simplicio, so that he may be furnished with it in case he should be captured! (which God forbid), that he may put a dose of it into a barrel of wine, and another into a barrel of brandy; as they immediately commence drinking: thus they will be done for, and you rid of them. This is the method which I recommend for settling them, as they are very determined and rash, and treat their prisoners worse and worse.

"There was a great disturbance to-day in the Palace square, caused by our trying to rescue the Captain of the *Ganges*; and we did rescue him, and there was plenty of pelting of stones, brickbats, &c. The chief of police was obliged to send a force to protect them, and to take the necessary precautions. The English are prevented from coming on shore, and their provisions are sent off in boats; otherwise many deaths would certainly take place and I think it likely that much blood will yet be spilt. This is the reason why I thought of this dose [remedio], as I was once denounced by the Grande Leopoldo, &c. The dose is sent herewith, and I strongly recommend the same remedy to Senhor Simplicio.

(Signed)

"ANTONIO JOSE DE MESQUITAS."

\* Sal Amargo, by which such a murderous purpose was to be effected, means nothing more than common salts; but is the covering name for some deadly poison. Like our London thieves, these man-stealers have a cant language peculiar to themselves: for instance, they call gunpowder "onion seed" ("sementes de cebolla").

With this specimen of slave-dealers' cunning I must close my letter, having nothing farther to communicate at present on the subject of the laws regarding slaves in Brazil. I remain, thine very truly,

GEORGE PILKINGTON.

#### GERRIT SMITH'S SLAVES.

[Extracted from a letter addressed by James Canning Fuller to Joseph Sturge, and published in the *Emancipator and National Anti-Slavery Standard*.]

New York, September, 1841.

DEAR FRIEND,—Doubtless thou hast often thought of our visit to Gerrit Smith. As thou requested me to furnish thee with the result of the case then brought under our notice by a letter received while we were there, I cheerfully comply; and, believing it may be interesting to thee, and productive of benefit to others, will give a somewhat detailed account of my journey, and will endeavour to develop this case from its commencement till its present happy consummation. \* \* \* Ann Carroll Fitzhugh is the daughter of Colonel William Fitzhugh, a slave-holder, formerly resident in Maryland. Ann and her brother James, when infants, were presented with two slaves—the former had a girl named Harriett, the latter a boy called Sam. These negroes grew up together, and, being strongly attached, when Ann was about eighteen (soon after her marriage) her brother requested her to give him Harriett, that she might become Sam's wife. Ann was then young, and had been educated to consider slavery right; and, the idea of bestowing a wife on her brother's slave being naturally pleasing, it is no marvel that she cheerfully granted the request.

James Fitzhugh removed from Maryland to Kentucky. His pecuniary affairs became embarrassed, and creditors were clamorous. Under these circumstances he was prevailed on to transfer Sam, Harriet, and their first-born son, to one of his creditors. This man afterwards sold them to Samuel Worthington, a cotton planter of Mississippi. \* \* \*

[In the mean time Ann's views of slavery had changed, as well as those of her husband, Gerrit Smith, who had become one of the most devoted and influential of the American abolitionists; and they were earnestly desirous to release Harriett and her family from bondage. G. Smith, therefore, wrote to S. Worthington on the subject.] In his reply S. Worthington did not notice the number of the children, but stated that he might be induced to take 4000 dollars for the whole family. This circumstance, added to the following remark, gave us but a poor opinion of his sincerity. —"I am to some extent opposed to slavery; but, when I reflect that the great mass of the white people are very poor, that thousands of white children are congregated in factories, &c., that most of them work hard and die in poverty, and that, as I believe it may safely be said, there is not a nation of black people enlightened and capable of enjoying liberty, I must reconcile myself as I best can, trusting that God will in his own time adjust the matter."

It appeared that this letter was copied by another who accidentally omitted the word "five" before children; a circumstance trivial in itself, but it led to several wrong conclusions, and somewhat interrupted the harmony of our subsequent transactions. \* \* \*

[From the above circumstances, James Fuller was induced to offer to go to Mississippi, and treat with S. Worthington personally. He started the 26th of 7th month (July), via Lake Erie, through the state of Ohio, to Maysville, Kentucky. At this place he writes:—]

I here fell in with a Louisianian, who remarked he had been offered several Kentucky plantations at a low price, the owners being prostrated. Thinking to obtain information, I asked him some questions respecting the south. He said land there had much depreciated, but slaves kept up their price—a man of thirty would sell for 1000 dollars—that the southern planters desired to change the complexion of their field hands, and proposed the following method:—If northern men would consent to marry their negroes, the masters would emancipate the women, and give a dowry equal to the sum the white man, if of good character, might possess. He said the Irish, English, &c., would much improve their condition by cultivating cotton and sugar on this continent, while the planter would grow these articles cheaper by the labour of European 'serfs,' than by black slaves. These remarks made me feel like a barrel ready to burst from fermentation within, but I could not give vent by means of my tongue. The driver of the mail from Maysville to Lexington (65 miles) being a Pennsylvanian, I asked him if he could not earn as much in a free as in a slave state. He replied, eighteen dollars a month was the most he received in a free state, now he received thirty. This paved the way for some anti-slavery talk. "Last Monday night," said he, "I saw a big black man making his way for Canada. I might have stopped him, and had 200 dollars." I asked him if it was not better to have God's blessing with the fruits of honest industry, than His curse and 200 dollars blood-money. He said, with moistened eyes, "I wish all the slaves were free." This poor negro, thinking to escape from slavery expeditiously, took a horse, but from this the turnpike gates increased the risk of apprehension. To avoid this, before reaching one he let down a fence, put it up again, and passed round the back of the house. He was remounting on such an occasion, when the driver met him and wished him good night, but discovered by his voice he was a black man. On reaching Paynes-

town, he heard some talk about a runaway, and concluded this to have been the man. \* \* \* Stage coaches offer no help to the poor fugitives. By the laws of government no coloured man can drive a mail stage, neither may a coloured man ride on one, unless known to be free, or a slave with his master: a high penalty is inflicted for the infringement of these laws. At Washington the stage was stopped to know if a coloured boy could be put on. "Yes; where is he?" "At the jail yonder." The querist took a seat inside, and I soon saw a coloured man outside, with keepers; he was a captured runaway, for whom 200 dollars had been offered if taken out of the state, or 100 if taken within it. To ride on a stage with a man bound in chains and padlocks, made one feel the force of the exclamation, "Give me liberty or death."

At Lexington we encountered the man who claimed the poor fugitive. The driver began to plead with him in behalf of the slave. I heard of another case, where an angry master threatened to flog a recovered runaway, but the driver of the stage remonstrated so effectually that he wept, and promised forgiveness to his slave. O may we get the common people aroused! I would rather see stage drivers as a body abolitionists, than all the clergy in the land. I have no wish to disparage them; but, with a few noble exceptions, they are not found in the van of unpopular reforms.

Desiring to see the improved cattle on H. Clay's plantation, I went thither. Henry Clay was not at home. I saw a coloured man, and said to him, "Where wert thou raised?" "In Washington." "Did Henry Clay buy thee there?" "Yes." "Wilt thou show me his improved cattle?" Following his directions, I met an intelligent looking boy, about 9 or 10. I said to him, "Canst thou read?" "No." "How old art thou?" "Don't know." "Is there a school for coloured people on this plantation?" "No." In the orchard I found a woman at work with her needle. I asked her, "how old art thou?" "Near sixty." "How many children hast thou?" "Fifteen or sixteen." "Where are they?" "Coloured folk don't know where their children is, they are sent all over the country." "Where wast thou raised?" "At Washington." "Did H. Clay buy thee there?" "Yes. I had four children then; they tell me they are dead." Her hut was neither so good nor so well floored as my stable. Several slaves were picking fruit. I asked one, if they were taught to read: he said, "No." The overseer had a short-handled stout whip. He said it answered for a riding whip, or to "wipe off" the slaves! \* \* \* I found Samuel Worthington quite a different person than his letters led me to expect. He was a Kentuckian by birth; went to Mississippi as an overseer, and now owns a cotton plantation of 120 slaves. I believe he is a kind master in the common acceptation of the term; and far be it from me to say anything disrespectful of him, except that he is a slave-holder, a word in my view comprising the "sum of all villainy." He said, when G. Smith's letter came he supposed the writer was not in earnest, and was surprised to hear my intention of coming to Harrodsburgh. He regretted this, as it might break up his family arrangements; his wife had three small children, one a babe; and this step would leave her without assistance. He then said he did not feel bound to sell the family, as he had only written to Mr. Smith that he *might be induced* to take 4000 dollars for them. At length he proposed my seeing Sam, as he did not think he would leave him; but I said I would do no such thing till he and I had concluded our bargain. "I do not believe," said I, "there is a man on these grounds but would go with me from slavery. If Sam has objections, let me see his wife." "No," said he, "she would go." After some pros and cons we concluded a bargain, subject to the parties being willing to leave; 3500 dollars were to be paid, and we went together to converse with Sam and his wife. The master probably felt so confident his slave would not leave him, he had not patience to wait, and asked the question of him alone. Sam answered him promptly, he would go. The bills of sale were drawn out accordingly, and Sam and his family were regularly conveyed over to me. The large price paid for this family may surprise thee; but it is justice to say, his description of the family is correct, "they are all sprightly, of good character, and, of course, valuable house servants." He said he had repeatedly been offered 2000 dollars for Sam—spoke highly of his worth, and yet talked as if certain that Sam and his family would be reduced to beggary, if left to themselves in the north. Samuel Worthington said that many, on hearing of my business, advised him to have nothing to do with me; but, said he, "were I to send you home without this family, I should have a troubled mind." One of his greatest difficulties was that his wife was left destitute of servants. I pitied her, and told her I believed there was a struggle in her own breast between duty and interest; and appealed to her if this were not so. My remarks enabled her to relieve herself of a weight; she brightened up, and appeared willing I should take them away. She shewed great kindness to Harriett and her children, and felt much on parting with one who had so long been her nurse.

Those who know me will not suspect I sought to conceal my abolition principles; but I did not desire to make them a topic of conversation, except as a way opened, and had not expected to say as much as I did; but it was a curiosity for a Quaker to be seen in such company, and it was soon known why I had come, and what I had done. This gave rise to many conversations with slave-holders, which I trust did good. Thou wilt be surprised to hear thy old friend was complimented by them for his discretion. As they professed to believe abolitionists wished to

incite the slaves by every means in their power against their masters, my refusing to talk with Sam till I had settled the matter with Samuel Worthington naturally seemed to them remarkable. \* \* \* On paying the money, I felt constrained to testify that I could in no degree sanction the principle that man could hold property in man—that the slaves are our equals by creation, and for their salvation, equally with ours, did Christ suffer on the cross. I told them he who was now paying this money for slaves deemed it his duty to abstain from all slave produce, and that the number of those who agreed with me in this scruple was increasing in the North. All this seemed wondrous strange!

On our way home, I took care the coachmen and passengers should know the history of Sam and his wife; some one was sure to make this a subject of conversation. At Lawrenceburgh the landlord (a slave-holder) tried to make me believe his slaves were better off than himself. I merely asked in reply, if he would be willing that he and his family should exchange places with a slave family: this was too severe a test, and he walked off. My host inquired if I sat at table with coloured people, and was much surprised when I answered, "I do not judge persons by complexion. At my own table I sit with coloured people, and shall sit with these." At Louisville we took the steam-boat for Cincinnati. The captain asked me whether the negroes were my property. I answered, "yes;" but explained the circumstances. With an apology, he said they usually asked for a reference. I shewed him my bill of sale, and asked him whether, if I had brought a barrel of lard on board, he would have troubled me to prove property. He apologized by saying, they had been imposed on by white men, who put slaves on board pretending they were free, and the owners of the boats had been obliged to pay 6000 dollars for fugitive slaves. At the Mansion house at Buffalo an advertisement caught my eye, headed, *LIBERTY* in Missouri, offering 3000 dollars reward for three fugitive slaves. No stage-riding for coloured people here; and it was with difficulty I could obtain breakfast for my companions, though I had paid for it!

After an absence of twenty-six days I arrived safely at my own house, and, after two days, proceeded to Gerrit Smith's, where, as thou mayest well believe, we received a friendly welcome. I had travelled 1805 miles. The whole cost of redemption, including our travelling expenses, was 3583 dollars 81 cents (£807 sterling).

#### SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA: THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S MINUTE.

This minute commences with advertizing to the generally mild character of what is termed slavery in India, the connexion between agrestic slavery and the distinctions of caste, and the little value which some of the slaves who have been emancipated place upon their freedom. It then declares that, "in effect, that which constitutes the essence of slavery may be said to have been already abolished nearly everywhere throughout India;" meaning by "the essence of slavery" the aid of the criminal courts in enforcing the claims of the masters over their slaves. In several districts, it is further observed, the means of escape are easy for the slave, while the rights of the master are so difficult of enforcement as not to be worth the attempt. It has even been declared upon high authority, that according to Mohammedan law there is no punishment for a slave absconding, and that, "if they go away from the houses of their masters without their permission, they are at liberty to live wherever they please, and they are not liable to any trial under the law in question." Also that no Mohammedan master could prove a legal title to the possession of a slave at this day, and that it is nearly the same with regard to Hindoo masters.

Such are the principal facts adduced by his lordship as descriptive of that state which is termed slavery in India, and, admitting them to be well founded, admitting that the essence of slavery has already been abolished, and that under the Mohammedan law no master can enforce a claim to the possession of a slave, the natural inference is that slavery does not legally exist in India. Now, if this is the case, and if there are persons held in slavery contrary to law, it is surely the bounden duty of the government to protect them, by enforcing the law which it professes to administer impartially to all; it would be monstrous inconsistency to tell us that slavery is contrary to law, and at the same time to refuse the protection of the law to those who are held in slavery. If these facts are the real facts of the case, let them be proclaimed and universally acted upon, and the question of slavery in India would be at once and for ever settled.

But what does the Governor-general propose to do in this case? He says, that he is prepared to pass a law declaring that any act which would be an offence if done to a freeman, shall be equally an offence if done to a slave, and also that no magistrate shall be allowed to decide on claims to slaves. This is the full extent of the measures proposed by the Governor-general, yet this is doing nothing more than what he says in the minute has already been done, nearly everywhere throughout India! Though professing to believe that no man can be legally held in slavery, the Governor-general is prepared to pass a law which, on his own showing, is unnecessary, and which will have the effect of sanctioning slavery! He is informed that "slavery, its laws and local usages, are in Bengal one strange mass of anomaly and contradiction," yet he is willing to leave it in that state, and that at a time when the law of India is undergoing revision, and acquiring some de-

gree of consistency. He is moreover assured by the Indian Law Commissioners that slavery is attended with evils and abuses of such magnitude, that, if they "cannot be prevented otherwise than by its abolition, then slavery ought to be abolished;" yet even this statement is disregarded: the Governor-general makes out a case for himself, extenuating the evils of slavery, and almost denying its legal existence, all which are good reasons for abolishing the name of slavery, and yet he stops short of his own conclusions, and will only agree to do what has already been done nearly every where throughout India.

With the evidence before us regarding slavery in India, its extent, its evils and abuses, the various and contradictory laws and usages in operation, it is surely neither wise nor prudent to leave it in its present unsettled and unsatisfactory state, to be dealt with at the will, or misapprehension, or caprice of every local officer. Circumstances are at present all favourable for effecting the abolition of slavery. The lawfulness of slavery is doubtful, the rules and customs are various and contradictory, the proprietors of slaves are accustomed to changes and innovations, their power has been gradually reduced, and in some places totally suppressed; according to the Governor-general's minute "the essence of slavery may be said to have been already abolished nearly every where throughout India;" and, what is perhaps of more consequence than all, slave labour is of little or no value. But, should it happen that, from any alterations in the course of trade (such as an increased production of sugar for exportation), or by any general improvement in agricultural concerns, slave labour should become more valuable than it has hitherto been, the difficulties in abolishing slavery will then be incomparably greater than at present. Hitherto there has been no difficulty in abating slavery wherever measures of amelioration have been adopted, and slavery has been expressly abolished in Arracan almost without a murmur, and certainly without any demonstration or attempt at resistance; but, whenever the time arrives that there is a great demand for slave-labour, when it becomes more valuable than it is at present, there will be powerful interests opposed to the abolition of slavery, and the question will be surrounded with difficulties from which it is now free.

The reluctance of the Governor-general to take any decisive step can be ascribed only to that *vis inertiae* which is said to be inherent in all our Indian governments. He seems to be convinced that slavery ought to be abolished, but, instead of accomplishing this end by a direct and open course of action, he would leave it to time and the operation of indirect means, or, as it has been said elsewhere, "he would leave slavery to wear out in this country under the influence of British rule, without immediate intervention to suppress it." This temporizing policy, though necessary at times, is generally a proof of weakness, and in the present case there is no substantial reason for adopting it, while it is certain that the difficulties will be increased by delay.

Another circumstance which may throw some light upon the Governor-general's minute is, that the Indian law commissioners, in the course of their investigations into East India slavery, had reduced the question to this point, "that, if the abuses which slavery gives rise to in this country cannot be prevented otherwise than by its abolition, then slavery ought to be abolished." The commissioners thought that the abuses could be otherwise prevented, with such a degree of certainty as to justify them in not advising the emancipation of the slaves, and they accordingly drew out a string of regulations, which they recommended the government to enact for that purpose; but the Governor-general saw at once that these regulations would be impracticable, and he gives it as his decided impression, "that the adoption of all the minute and detailed provisions recommended by the law commissioners, would much rather impede than advance the object we all have in view. That object is the earliest possible extinction, first practically, and in the end even avowedly, of slavery, in so far as such results can be attained by acts of the government." In this instance, the Governor-general has acted with sound discretion, for it would be a hopeless task to endeavour to correct the abuses of slavery except by its abolition; he should then have accepted the alternative of the commissioners, and decided that "slavery ought to be abolished;" but, instead of doing this, he endeavours to show that the evils of slavery in India are not so great as had been represented by the commissioners. By the above-mentioned declaration of the commissioners the Governor-general was reduced to this dilemma, either to accept the last alternative of the commissioners, or to invalidate the facts from which they drew their conclusions; and in making his own escape, he has left the commissioners in another dilemma; they must now either eat their own words, or fall back on their last alternative, and pronounce their final verdict, that, *as the abuses which slavery gives rise to in India, cannot be otherwise prevented*, "it ought to be abolished."

This minute of the Governor-general has placed both himself and the commissioners in a most whimsical position. They are both opposed to immediate abolition, and still more opposed to each other; but, granting that his lordship is correct in only one of the points in dispute (the impracticability of eradicating the abuses of slavery by means of regulations), and granting that the commissioners are correct in one other point (the enormous evils and abuses of slavery), the two parties when brought to admit these positions will not only become reconciled, but each will convince the other that slavery ought to be abolished. In the meantime, his lordship's minute has forced the commissioners to appear as the advocates of abolition, for we have it now on the highest

authority that the abuses cannot be corrected by the proposed regulations, and it follows, according to the commissioners, that "slavery ought to be abolished."

Thus has this long protracted inquiry into slavery in India proved a miserable failure. And not only is the Governor-general directly opposed to the commissioners, but the commissioners also differ amongst themselves on a very essential point, that of allowing the masters to inflict punishment upon their slaves. When we call to mind that the abolition of slavery, which was to have taken place in 1837, was postponed in order to fortify the measure by the experience of the Indian government, and the superior information of a local commission, the contrast between the promise and the performance is beyond all previous calculation or conception. These proceedings are, however, fraught with instruction for those who still contend for the expediency of regulating slavery, instead of abolishing it; for what hope is there that any measures can be devised for extirpating the abuses of slavery, when so great a diversity of opinion prevails amongst all who have been appointed to devise those measures, and who have devoted much time and attention to the subject? To such persons the result of this inquiry must be far from satisfactory, as it leaves the question in more uncertainty and confusion than before; while it strongly confirms the opinion held by others, that the abolition of slavery is in every point of view the most expedient course.

The Governor-general has said that the subject of slavery is a most difficult and extensive one, but the difficulty is not to be surmounted by disguising it under a softer name, nor by confounding it with the distinctions of caste. It is true that slavery in India may be described as generally of a mild character, when compared with the coercion exercised over colonial slaves; yet slavery does exist in India, and even in its least repulsive form slavery is no slight evil; disguise it as you may, compare it as you will with any other degree of human suffering, slavery is slavery still, a violation of natural right and justice, and as great a curse to society, greater perhaps, than it is to the individual. It has often been urged as a palliation for slavery in India, that the slaves are as well off, and in many cases better off than the free labourers; but is this an excuse for slavery? Or is it not rather a bitter sarcasm on the effects of British government in India, where the honest labourer is reduced below the level of the slave, and forced at last to barter his personal liberty for the barest pittance that can support life? In a country abounding in population like India, the existence of a class of unremunerated labourers tends to reduce the price of labour below its natural value, and gradually brings down the free labourer to an equality with the slave. In this respect slavery in India resembles pauperism in England before the late change, when the system of employing paupers at reduced wages gradually brought the entire mass of labourers, in some localities, to the condition of paupers. It is thus that slavery is injurious to the free labourer, and compels him often to become a slave in order to better his condition; and, while slavery exists in India, it would be as great a hardship on the unfortunate labourer to prevent him from obtaining relief in this way, as it would have been to have prevented the English labourers from becoming paupers, when the old poor laws were in operation.

But, not only has the Governor-general underrated the evils of slavery, he has also endeavoured to connect slavery with the distinctions of caste. It is unnecessary to enter upon this point here, further than to disclaim the implied connexion between slavery and the Hindoo religion. It is not expected that the abolition of slavery will effect any alteration in the distinctions of caste, nor can it reasonably be expected, that the slaves of an English proprietor should be exempt from those local usages and religious obligations to which free men of their own caste are subject. In abolishing slavery, no one expects to abolish the distinctions of caste; the one is physical and the other moral degradation, and it is no argument against abolishing one to say that we shall not by that means abolish the other also.

The question has here been treated as one of merely Indian policy, and even in that point of view we are led to conclude that the abolition of slavery is not only safe and practicable, but that it is the only way to put a stop to the abuses of slavery. But this is not merely an Indian question, it is one in which the character and the honour of Great Britain are deeply involved. We are pledged as a nation to abolish and utterly to root out slavery from every part of the British dominions; and it is the glory of our country, a monument which will live for ever in the hearts of mankind, that such efforts have been made, such treasures freely poured forth to benefit the most degraded of the human race, as have never before been witnessed. Struck with admiration at these labours in the cause of suffering humanity, even rival nations have extolled our clemency; but, when they turn their eyes to the east, and reflect upon the millions yet held in slavery there, they doubt the uprightness of our intentions, they suspect that they have been betrayed into undeserved commendation, and they taunt us for the supposed imposture. And what reply can we make? What argument can we use to convince them of the purity of our motives? Shall we present to them the Governor-general's minute? That document, instead of convincing them of the insuperable obstacles to the abolition of slavery in India, is more calculated to lead them to the opposite conclusion. They would consider it a mockery, a crafty attempt to deny the existence of slavery in India by disingenuous and equivocating phrases; they will tell

us of an unnecessary delay to inquire into a subject which needed no further inquiry; that it was committed to persons who had more pressing engagements to occupy their attention; that it was taken up at distant intervals; that it was stopped before any material progress had been made; that it is an inquiry which has produced nothing but delay; that it is repudiated by those who made it; that it has been a mere subterfuge to gain time, and that emboldened by the success of this experiment, and being unable to offer any substantial reasons for maintaining slavery, we are now endeavouring to delude the world into the belief that slavery does not exist in India.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The letter of Captain STUART respecting persons of colour in Canada, is under consideration.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

## Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, NOVEMBER 17TH.

Mr. G. W. Alexander has returned from Holland, having, in company with Mr. Scoble, visited Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden, and Amsterdam.

Mr. Scoble intended, when Mr. Alexander parted with him, to proceed to Utrecht, Zeist, and Groningen, and may visit a few other towns in Holland, should it appear desirable. We think our readers will be glad to receive a brief account of the proceedings of our friends, and the progress of the anti-slavery cause in a country possessing considerable colonies, and in one of which particularly, Surinam, the crime of slavery prevails to a considerable extent.

It is an interesting fact, that, at the preliminary meeting which took place at Rotterdam, with the view of taking effectual measures for promoting the abolition of slavery in the dominions of Holland, a gentleman possessing considerable property in British Guiana, and an influential citizen of Amsterdam, presided. We adverted in our last number to the fact of influential individuals from various towns in Holland having been present on this interesting occasion. It is highly probable that a future meeting will be still more largely attended, and we cherish the fervent hope that its proceedings may in no small degree promote the speedy abolition of slavery in the dependencies of Holland.

A public meeting was held at Rotterdam on the second day (Monday) after the arrival of our friends, and three days after that to which we have just referred. Mr. Scoble spoke at considerable length, and was listened to with the deepest interest. We have every reason to believe that the generous feelings of our warm friends at Rotterdam were strengthened on this occasion, and their determination to prosecute with unabating earnestness the great work in which they are engaged.

At the Hague interviews were had with a few decided friends of the slave; and it is cheering to us to know that the sentiments of these, as well as of our friends generally in Holland, are decidedly in favour of immediate and entire abolition. In proportion as the system of slavery and its results are better understood in Holland is the irreconcileable objection which is felt to its continuance, while the accumulating evidence of the blessings which have accompanied the introduction of freedom into the English colonies, affords an incontrovertible argument in favour of universal freedom.

Our friends found that persons of different, and even of opposite political and religious opinions in Holland, are decidedly opposed to the system of slavery, some on account of the shameful violation of human rights which it involves, and others on account of the cruelty which is its inseparable companion; while some are principally influenced by the vast and insuperable difficulties which it places in the way of the intellectual, moral, and religious improvement of its degraded and wretched victims. The force of all these considerations is more than ever felt by many of our Dutch friends.

At Leyden, through the kind interest of Professor Tiedemann Bodel Nieuw huis, and William Fleming, more than twenty persons, including several professors and other influential persons, came to the hotel, who were addressed by Mr. Scoble in a very impressive manner.

At Amsterdam our friends did not see a large number of persons, but some of those to whom they were introduced, or who visited them at their hotel, were gentlemen of considerable influence. Among these was a member of the States-general of Holland, who stated his entire accordance with the sentiments which were expressed in his hearing, and his intention to give his support to the cause of emancipation, if it should be introduced in the States. We learn with much satisfaction that a motion for the abolition of slavery is at present likely to have a number of supporters by no means inconsiderable, in the second chamber of the States. This is not the less likely to be the case on account of the mortality and languishing state of commerce in the colony of Surinam, from whence many of the slaves are escaping to British Guiana.

In Curaçoa, also, not a few of the wretched bondsmen are finding their way to Hayti or Venezuela, in the latter of which countries the slave-population, upwards of 40,000 in number, have lately been set at liberty, with the exception of those who are under eighteen years of age.

A letter addressed to Mr. Alexander, which appears in our present number, shews the progress which is taking place in the advocacy of abolition through the medium of the press. It is hardly needful to say that we feel much indebted to J. de Neufville and I. van Ouverkerk de Vries, for their able exposure of the system of slavery, and their advocacy of the righteous claims of their oppressed fellow-subjects.

We hope in our next number to be able to announce the return of Mr. Scoble to England, and to give some further information on subjects connected with the abolition cause in Holland.

Two West India mails have arrived since our last. The prospects of the crop in Jamaica are highly encouraging, as appears by the following extract from the papers:—

We are happy to learn that the seasons this year have been favourable, particularly in the eastern districts of this island; and, what is still more gratifying, is the information that the plantations, generally speaking, are in good order, and no want of labour experienced.

A confirmation of this statement comes to our hand in a private letter, dated September the 27th.

You will rejoice to learn that we have the prospect of a very large crop of sugar this year. One gentleman called upon me to-day from Vere, and mentioned that his estate would make 350 hogsheads this year, which last year made only ONE.

The state of this island is satisfactorily exhibited also in the following extract of a letter from the rev. J. M. Philippo to Mr. Sturge:—

My silence of late on colonial matters, arises from the comparative absence of causes of complaint, the white emigration scheme excepted. As far as the black people are concerned, all is industry, happiness, and peace. They know their rights, and the planters are at last compelled to recognise them, at least, it is so to a considerable degree throughout the district. I have about seven new townships rising up under my superintendence, and the people are doing admirably, their former masters themselves being judges.

I was much grieved at the conduct displayed on the part of those members of the anti-slavery body who advocated the reduction of the sugar duties. I most decidedly and unequivocally unite in the opinions expressed on the subject by the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and so I believe does every missionary on the island.

The condition of Barbados is very distressing. Long drought has almost annihilated the crop, and the entire population is in a state of severe suffering, which, of course, presses most heavily on the labouring class.

The good people of Guiana are rejoicing, not only over a second cargo of immigrants from Sierra Leone, but also over the arrival of between two and three hundred liberated Africans from Rio de Janeiro. This is the first arrival of this description, and is regarded there (we know not with how much justice) as the commencement of a new system. It is certainly an improvement on the old system of consigning the liberated Africans to slavery in Brazil, under the flimsy disguise of an apprenticeship for five years.

The *Guiana Royal Gazette* animadverts very innocently on Mr. Scoble's strictures on the new tax ordinance. How severely this ordinance is adapted to press on the labourers is apparent, from the fact that they have forwarded to her Majesty (through the governor) a petition against its allowance. We cannot conceive that such a petition will be disregarded.

A private letter from Antigua, from which we have given an extract, shows that, under the influence of natural causes, the condition of the labourers there is making healthy improvement.

*Gerrit Smith's slaves* is an article which all our readers will peruse with interest. The noble and costly act of emancipation by which this American abolitionist has distinguished himself will be fully appreciated in this country, and certainly must exercise an important influence in the United States. We must also express our gratification at the spirited and prudent conduct of our old friend and valued coadjutor, James Cannings Fuller. We may here notice, likewise, that Colonel Miller, whose ardent bearing was conspicuous in the General Anti-slavery Convention, is turning his courage to good account, by going as an anti-slavery agent into the southern states, at his own expense.

We have received a pamphlet entitled *Four Letters to the Rev. James Caughey, Methodist Episcopal Minister, on the participation of the American Episcopal church in the sin of Slavery*. It appears that the reverend gentleman thus introduced to the notice of the British public, has recently arrived in Dublin from the United States on a religious mission, and that some staunch abolitionists in that city have promptly tested his views on the anti-slavery question. Of the four letters before us three are from Mr. Robert Johnston, who states himself to be a member of the Methodist body, and who thus commences the correspondence:—

REVEREND SIR.—As a member of the Methodist society in this city, allow me to call your attention to some expressions which you made in course of your sermon in Whitefriar-street Chapel, on Sunday evening, the 5th instant. You stated that man was a being so formed, and composed of such valuable materials, that the whole material universe beside could not equal him in value. You asked the question, 'why is it we do not estimate a man's value by his height, or his weight of flesh, and blood,

and bones ; and you answered, ' the reason is, because he is possessed of an immortal soul, that stamps dignity upon his character, and gives to him an infinite value. When you used these expressions, were you not aware that you are the minister of a church that recognises the right of its members to carry on a traffic in human flesh, and blood, and bones ; and to hold property in, and sell that noble being, MAN, whom you stated to have been created in the image of God, and whom the whole material universe itself cannot equal in value, for the paltry sum of a few pounds or a few dollars, to satisfy the avariciousness of some slave-holder who has the audacity to call himself by the Christian name ? Are you not, sir, the minister of a church in America that recognises the right of its members to sell one another—to sell slaves who are members of the same church with themselves ?

Mr. Richard Allen, the secretary of the Hibernian Anti-slavery Society, and a member of the Society of Friends (a letter from whom to Mr. Caughey concludes the series), pursued a different but equally appropriate and effective course, which he thus describes :—

"RESPECTED FRIEND,—Soon after thy arrival in Dublin my attention was drawn towards thee, by understanding that thou wast thoroughly sound in the abolition cause, and wast preaching the doctrine of restitution here with much power—viz., that if we wronged any one, it was our duty not only to repent, but to make restitution, even to the last farthing of what we possessed. It at once struck me, that if this doctrine were preached faithfully in America, as applied to the slave-holders and their victims, it would force them to sit down and count the days, and months, and years, in which they had robbed them of their unrequited toil, for the purpose of making them restitution for their many and grievous wrongs.

"Full of this idea, I sought an interview with thee, in the belief that, if thou hadst not been hitherto fully faithful, it was through thy attention not having been turned to the subject."

The reverend gentleman seems to have been taken by surprise by these movements, and complains of them as developing a scheme of the devil to prevent the success of his preaching. He says that he is a native Irishman, that he is still a British subject, and, moreover, that he thinks slavery is a sin against God, and that he is himself an abolitionist ; but, with all this wriggling, it comes out that he is one of a very equivocal sort. Mr. Johnston, in his second letter, thus addresses him :—

"REV. SIR,—The conversation which we had at our friend Mr. Shortt's has more than ever convinced me that you are deeply imbued with the pro-slavery prejudices of your church and country ; and, in again addressing you, I cannot allow any feeling of respect which I may have for you as a minister of the gospel, nor my attachment to methodism, to prevent me from expressing freely and fully my views upon the subject of American slavery, and how far I believe the society in America to be implicated in the guilt, by sanctioning and supporting it. The attempt which you have made to justify the conduct of the American Methodist church, and the whole tenor of your conduct here as regards the slavery question, warrants me in stating that you are spreading and strengthening the pro-slavery spirit among us. The mere fact of your saying that you believe as much as I do that slavery is a sin, is no proof that you are anti-slavery at heart. There is scarcely a slave-holder in the southern states who would not make use of that expression as well as you ; but would he on that account be less pro-slavery, or less guilty of the sin of slave-holding, so long as he holds his fellow-man in bondage ? The slavery of your country is so abominable, that few, even of its most open and avowed advocates, would dare to call it anything else than a sin.

"Abolitionists can soon discover the true friend of the slave from the false. It is well known in America, that many who say to abolitionists ' I am as much anti-slavery as you are,' at the same time are as much opposed to abolition and the immediate emancipation of the slave as the slave-holder himself. They know that all who are not for abolition are against it, and that he that gathereth not with them scattereth abroad. Your church, sir, and the gradualists of your country, have been trying to evade the real question involved in slavery—that it is one of Christian principle and not of expediency. They have been trying to stifle their own convictions and those of the slave-holder, and to conceal the deformity of their principles, and the strong pro-slavery spirit by which they are actuated, behind the political and social aspect of the question. They try by the mere expression of sympathy and feeling for the slave, to persuade the world that they are the friends of freedom, at the very time they are riveting more closely the chains of the slave.

"Your commendation of the wisdom and prudence of your church in not joining the turbulent outcry of the abolitionists, and not interfering in the civil and political institutions of their country, and the domestic relation between master and slave, proves to a demonstration, that, no matter how strong your professions are for anti-slavery, you have still to adopt the principle of immediate abolition, before you can be a true abolitionist at heart."

We would gladly make further extracts from these letters would our limits allow ; but we must content ourselves with expressing our warm approbation of the course which Messrs. Johnston and Allen have pursued. The reverend Mr. Caughey will learn something of the spirit of British abolitionists ; and we hope his reception by the Methodists at large, will afford him evidence that it is widely diffused through that numerous and influential body. We heartily concur in the appeal thus made to them in the pamphlet before us.

"Methodists of Great Britain and Ireland ! Raise a solemn voice of warning to your American brethren, and suffer no one carrying the gospel message to appear amongst you, till he proves that he has, in his own country, done all in his power to remove from his highly professing church and people their sins of omission as well as of commission in this respect."

We direct the attention of our readers to an examination of the Governor-general's minute respecting British India, in another column. It is by an able hand.

We learn by a copy of the *Glasgow Argus*, which has been forwarded to us, that Mr. George Thompson delivered, in the Relief church in Glasgow, on the 1st inst., a lecture on American slavery, and the present position and prospects of the abolitionists of the United States. We have read the lecture with much pleasure, and regret that our crowded columns will not permit us to do more than take this passing notice of it.

We find the following in the *Protectionist* of October 16th.

It is said that a large portion of the most respectable and intelligent members of the Society of Friends in America do honestly believe, that, Friends in England have suffered a serious loss in their religious character and usefulness, by their connexion with anti-slavery societies ; and that the cause which they have thus sought to advance has been in fact retarded by such connexion. How far this belief has influenced the yearly meeting of Indiana in its recent decisions upon this subject I am not informed ; but it is said that said meeting has issued an epistle of advice, that Friends' meeting houses in future be entirely closed against the advocacy of the cause of the slave by anti-slavery lecturers, and that Friends abstain from connecting themselves with anti-slavery societies. It is also said, that the meeting passed a censure upon the publication of Joseph Sturge's "Address to the members of the Society of Friends in America," and issued its disclaimer of responsibility for publications which are dated in the style usually practised by Friends. The reasons for this disclaimer do not appear.

We have inserted a highly interesting article, narrating the proceedings of a festival by which the seventh anniversary of the British act of emancipation was celebrated in Hayti. There are exhibited in it an ardent love of liberty, and a cordial admiration of England. The sentiments expressed must find their response in the heart of many a black man not resident in Hayti, and we shall hope to hear the echo of them from Cuba and the Carolinas.

We have inserted the communication sent us by Dr. Paul, of Jamaica. He is not the only party whom Mr. Oughton's letter has made sore, as the extract we shall give below will evince. Many a man has been punished, however, for telling the truth ; and, for aught that Dr. Paul has proved to the contrary, nothing but the truth has been told. The following is the extract : it is from a private letter :—

Oughton's letter in the *Reporter* has created quite a sensation here among all parties. The House will meet shortly, and, if they can do any thing to punish him, depend upon it they will.

We have been informed on good authority, that the *Britannia*, a fine vessel of 1400 tons burden, sailed from Rotterdam about the 29th of October, for the coast of Africa. She was to purchase of the king of Ashante one thousand blacks, to reinforce the Dutch troops in the island of Java, and was to take in fifty soldiers at Helvoetsluys as a guard. We mention this fact with great pain ; but we shall probably find another opportunity of expressing our sentiments on it.

The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Committee has to regret the loss of one of its members, GEORGE BENET, esq., who fell down on Saturday last, in Bird-cage Walk, Hackney Road, and instantly expired.

#### SWEDISH SLAVERY : SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S.

The following information has been received from a correspondent at Stockholm :—

The population of the island of St. Bartholomew has for many years steadily decreased, and the number of free persons *pari passu* with that of the slave inhabitants. It now amounts scarcely to 3000, of which the slaves form about a fifth part. The price of a slave varies according to quality, from 25 to 200 piastres. The slaves are employed in salt works and agriculture in the country, and as artisans and domestic servants in town. Those who provide their own food work from six to five, with two hours intervening leisure per day, and have Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, free. Those who have their food found them work from six to four, with one hour's rest, and Saturday and Sunday free. The condition of the slave is one of physical comfort, with which they themselves are not dissatisfied, as appears from the fact that communication with the British islands is easy and constant, yet no desertions occur. Transfer of slaves from the island by the master is virtually disallowed by the present governor, who is described as a kind and just man, and a friend to emancipation. The Swedish law on this subject is somewhat ambiguous. Those who possess slaves possess for the most part little else, and, when unable to employ them, let them out on hire to others. The most striking and objectionable feature in the relation of the slave to his master, is the necessity of the master's consent to the marriage of the slave ; and, as the value of the slave when married diminishes, according to existing institutions, the master almost always refuses his consent, and the consequence is that the slave lives in the habit of concubinage.

The motion of the brothers Geijer at the Diet was adopted by the states, and the inquiry then suggested has been set on foot. Those best acquainted with the state of things in the island confirm our hopes as to the practicability of a speedy emancipation, upon the principle of purchase by the nation ; which event, however, cannot take place before, though there is much reason to believe it will be accomplished at, the next meeting of the Diet.

## THE THUGS OF INDIA.

[From the *Athenaeum.*]

Ellichpoor, 10th July, 1841.

I HAVE just gone through with great care the report made by Major Sleeman, on the depredations of the Thug gangs of the Dooab, Bundelkhund, &c., and I think that the tables I send you may prove acceptable—the more so, as nothing of the kind, to my knowledge, has ever reached England, and the report had only just been circulated to official persons when I arrived in this country. Perhaps too, there may be curiosity enough in England upon this subject to make some knowledge of the official proceedings of government in a condensed form desirable; and, as these tables have been compiled from actual documents of the department, and the recorded confessions of the approvers, they admit of no doubt of accuracy. That of the result of the trials is given in Major Sleeman's compilation, to which I have been enabled to add the convictions of Thugs in some districts of India up to the end of the last season of trials, though not of all, for the Bengal Thugs are tried by the local courts, and do not come under the cognizance of the general superintendent, who was obliging enough to supply me with the latter information. The tables of the number of murders and the property plundered I have compiled myself from the work, which consists, for the most part, of the confessions of the approvers, and those minute accounts of their various enterprises which have been made the groundwork of the evidence against those who have been tried and have suffered punishment. I think the numbers will astound you, who in England can have no idea of crime such as this dreadful one, perpetrated so long and with such complete impunity—nor any conception that, in a country for the most part under English rule, the police should have been so utterly corrupt and infamous as not only to have winked at the commission of these murders, but to have in many instances afforded the Thugs their positive countenance and protection. And not the police alone, but the native chiefs, land-holders, Patails of villages and other authorities, besides bankers, merchants, and traders of all sorts. In the districts in which this crime prevailed—and where did it not prevail!—few appear to have been free from the pollution of sharing in its horrible gains—few to have rendered that active and zealous assistance to the government, which it might be thought would so readily have been afforded. The gangs, to the expeditions of which this report principally relates, resided in the districts east and north of Mahir, and in those of Farrukhabad and Cawnpoor. They were divided into two classes of Hindoo Thugs, and one of Mohammedan, but which all united on various occasions in the palmy days of Thuggee, and swept through the countries around them to the amount of two and three hundred in a body, murdering hundreds by the way. A line of operation having been marked out, the main body moved directly upon it, sending out parties in various directions who met their comrades at points before determined, where the booty was shared, and the gangs again separated in quest of further adventures. There are many favourite roads which, except in the height of the rainy season, could hardly ever be said to be free of Thugs. Setting out from the Gualin territories for instance, the gangs under the celebrated leaders Feringhea, Bakhshee, Dhowkul, Inayut and others, would march by different roads southwards to Boorhanpoor, on the Tupree, and thence watch the roads to Malwah and Rajpootana, where, after the settlement of the wild tract between the Tupree and Nerbudda rivers, and to the foot of the table land of Malwah, large amounts of treasure were annually sent by bankers of Bombay, Poona, Oomraotee, and other places of commerce. Many of these remittances fell into the hands of the Thugs, and it will be seen by the second table, that, in the season of 1827, 124,202 rupees were seized by these gangs, who numbered upwards of three hundred men—as many as two hundred and sixty of whom at one time acted in concert with each other. Sometimes the route determined on lay westward into Guzerat, where large booties were often gained, thence north and north-eastward to the great mart of Paleein Murwar, thence perhaps as far as the Sutlej and Lodheana, returning by Hurdwar, through Sudhana, the Begum-Sumroos, Jaghar, to Delhi, Agra, Muttra, and generally through the Dooab. These Thugs, in particular Feringhea, were fond of the Nizam's territories, and came by the north road through Oomraotee in Brear to Hyderabad, and returned thence by the Aurungabad road as far as Gungakhair, on the Godavery, and thence into Candeish by the western part of the Brear valley. These gangs are undoubtedly the boldest and most successful of the Thugs, and their leaders, by their own narratives, appear to have been men of great sagacity, foresight, and courage. Major Sleeman unfortunately gives no information beyond a few cursory remarks upon the Thugs of the southern peninsula of India, who are supposed to have ranked next to those of Bundelkhund in daring, nor have the public any means of estimating the depredations of the Thugs of Bengal proper, who were also very numerous; but of the Dooab Thugs (the tract between the Ganges and Jumna) Captain Reynolds, the general superintendent for the department of Central and Southern India, has given such minute tables, with the confessions of the Thugs embodied as remarks, that their track can be followed most clearly, while with every murder is given the value of the booty obtained, and the direction and destination of the unfortunate travellers.

The depredations of these gangs are confined to small spaces; they acted only in the Dooab and the Bundelkhund, rarely venturing into Bengal, or south as far as Saugor, in the central provinces; they would seem however, to have found ample booty in their own lines of operation; and, if the tracks of the gangs for a season are followed minutely upon a map, it will be seen how completely the whole country was crossed at various periods by the gangs—how regularly they followed at discreet intervals each other's footsteps, and how almost impossible it was for travellers in small bodies, especially strangers, to avoid their snares. The kingdom of Oude, long since and still celebrated for its utter want of police, and for the lawless character of much of its population, was, as may be supposed, a favourite spot for the operations, not only of the Dooab gangs, but of its own, and those of Bundelkhund. A map of that territory is given in Major Sleeman's work, on which are marked the Béles, or places of murder, used by the Thugs, and with which all the gangs are familiar. The distances of roads between the principal towns amount to 1406 miles, and the places of murder to 274; giving an average of one place of murder for every  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles of the whole country, and Major Sleeman gives it as his decided opinion, as also Captain Paton, assistant to the Resident at Lucknow, an officer of the department, that, if the same research had been instituted all over India, it would have differed very little anywhere. A few of these distances and Béles, taken at random, are as follows:—Lucknow to Cawnpoor, 52 miles, 13 Béles; Lucknow to Allhabad, 137 miles, 22 Béles; Lucknow to the frontier towards Jownpoor, 120 miles, 38 Béles. In few instances can I discover that of late years the Thugs have been particular in burying their dead—to hide the bodies of the murdered under stones or in the sand of a rivulet, to cover them with leaves and grass, throw them into the wabtis by the roadside that they might be devoured by jackals, or into wells in the fields, have been thought sufficient. How many, therefore, must have been known to the local authorities of whom no report whatever was made—what profound silence must have been kept regarding them, and concealment from the European functionaries! In Oude and other native states, perhaps, nothing better could have been expected: but, in the whole of the districts of Cawnpoor, Farrukhabad, Delhi, Agra, Muttra, &c., murders were as common, if not more frequent, than in Oude, and these have been British provinces since the first Mahratta war, or forty years. How many victims have fallen to Thugs during that time it is fearful to contemplate, with the records of these seven years before us as a fair guide to an estimation of their destruction of life; and, if we estimate the destruction of life in India up to 1834 at 2000 persons per annum (of course for the whole continent), and the value of property plundered from the dead at £20,000, it is surely not too much. In the history of crime, fearful as the pages are, there is no equal to this. Engendered as it has been, by the worst superstition, aided by the most debasing fatalism, it has taken advantage of the habits of the people, and preyed upon them to an extent which, had we not official documents in proof, would be deemed idle invention or gross exaggeration. Deep and lasting should the gratitude of the people be to the government, which, regardless of cost, (at one time, upwards of three lakhs per annum for the establishment), has freed the whole population of India, alike in its own provinces, and as far as was permitted in those of native princes, its allies. To their everlasting shame be it said, there is not one native independent government which has given its hearty support to the beneficent measures of the supreme government; most have at best yielded a cold acquiescence in them, while in the territories of H. H. the Nizam, the seizure of notorious Thugs has in many instances been opposed by open violence, causing bloodshed of the village and district authorities, for which the government itself has no remedy. It is a happy thing to contemplate, however, the great reduction that has taken place in the number of Thugs, and the blow which has been struck at their system; bands of hundreds no longer roam through the country, with the almost openly professed intention of murder and plunder. Even this is disconcerted in the territories of native princes—but by Major Sleeman's work, nineteen hundred known Thugs are still at large, and the experience of years is but too sure proof that they cannot be idle, and that life and property are still often sacrificed by them. On the rivers of Bengal, where the waters tell no tales, and where detection, from the means of rapidly evading pursuit, is next to impossible, Thuggee is yet practised; also, in Captain Reynolds's opinion, to the south; and in the provinces of Oude, Hyderabad, and Behar, few cases of murder come to the knowledge of the officers of the department, and the Thugs that are known have rewards set on their heads. Year after year sees additional commitments, and we fervently hope that the system is rapidly progressing to extinction, and in a few years more will be remembered only as a dreadful evil, from which the wisdom and energy of the Indian government has delivered its people; and, if it may be questioned which of the two great measures that emanated from the same nobleman, the suppression of Suttee and that of Thuggee (the latter will perhaps be ceded to his memory, as having emanated from him alone), deserves the highest place of fame and of real utility, still it must be remembered, that so long as nineteen hundred Thugs are at large, the least relaxation of the vigour of suppression will enable them to raise new gangs, and once more to prey upon the people as they have done.

Yours, &amp;c.

MEADOWS TAYLOR.

| Years. | STATIONS.             | Number of Persons committed. | SENTENCES. |                |                        |                                    |                       |        | Acquitted. | Escaped before Sentence. | Died before Sentence. | Made approvers after committal. | Grand Total. | REMARKS. |   |
|--------|-----------------------|------------------------------|------------|----------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|----------|---|
|        |                       |                              | Death.     | Transportation | Imprisonment for Life. | Ditto on a Regulation of security. | Limited Imprisonment. | Total. |            |                          |                       |                                 |              |          |   |
| 1826   | Jubbulpore .....      | 32                           | 3          | 24             | 0                      | 8                                  | 3                     | 32     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 32       |   |
| 1828   | Dhoolea in Candesh .. | 6                            | 4          | 2              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 6      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 6        |   |
| 1829   | Judoor .....          | 78                           | 39         | 21             | 0                      | 0                                  | 11                    | 71     | 2          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 5            | 78       |   |
| ..     | Dhoolea in Candesh .. | 18                           | 6          | 1              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 9      | 4          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 13       |   |
| 1830   | Jubbulpore .....      | 100                          | 38         | 26             | 0                      | 0                                  | 32                    | 96     | 1          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 3            | 100      |   |
| 1832   | Indoor .....          | 40                           | 21         | 12             | 0                      | 0                                  | 3                     | 36     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 4            | 40       |   |
| ..     | Saugor .....          | 370                          | 105        | 167            | 38                     | 0                                  | 10                    | 320    | 2          | 0                        | 21                    | 27                              | 370          |          |   |
| 1833   | Ditto .....           | 230                          | 40         | 156            | 3                      | 2                                  | 0                     | 201    | 0          | 0                        | 20                    | 0                               | 0            | 230      |   |
| ..     | Hyderabad .....       | 86                           | 21         | 45             | 17                     | 1                                  | 0                     | 84     | 0          | 0                        | 2                     | 0                               | 0            | 86       |   |
| ..     | Poonah .....          | 23                           | 19         | 0              | 0                      | 4                                  | 0                     | 28     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 23       |   |
| 1833-4 | Cawnpore .....        | 11                           | 9          | 2              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 11     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 11       |   |
| 1833   | Gazepoor .....        | 8                            | 6          | 2              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 8      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 8        |   |
| 1834   | Benares .....         | 5                            | 0          | 4              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 4      | 1          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 5        |   |
| 1835   | Indoor .....          | 10                           | 5          | 12             | 0                      | 0                                  | 2                     | 19     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 19       |   |
| 1834   | Saugor .....          | 397                          | 40         | 265            | 5                      | 7                                  | 7                     | 329    | 6          | 11                       | 48                    | 8                               | 397          |          |   |
| 1835   | Jubbulpore .....      | 235                          | 0          | 235            | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 235    | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 235      | { Approvers from different parts of India.              |
| ..     | Ditto .....           | 236                          | 36         | 165            | 3                      | 4                                  | 3                     | 906    | 5          | 0                        | 23                    | 2                               | 2            | 256      |   |
| ..     | Barrielly .....       | 3                            | 2          | 0              | 1                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 3      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 3        |   |
| 1836   | Sholapoor .....       | 7                            | 0          | 1              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 1      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 7        |   |
| ..     | Jubbulpore .....      | 250                          | 37         | 172            | 18                     | 0                                  | 0                     | 227    | 6          | 0                        | 12                    | 3                               | 3            | 248      | Sentence suspended on 2.                                |
| ..     | Furidpoor .....       | 12                           | 0          | 0              | 12                     | 0                                  | 0                     | 12     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 12       |   |
| 1837   | Chuprah .....         | 55                           | 2          | 0              | 44                     | 0                                  | 0                     | 46     | 0          | 0                        | 6                     | 0                               | 0            | 53       | { Including 23 approvers, 3 remanded for evidence.      |
| ..     | Jubbulpore .....      | 121                          | 18         | 70             | 25                     | 2                                  | 0                     | 110    | 3          | 0                        | 2                     | 0                               | 0            | 115      | Committed for 6 cancelled.                              |
| ..     | Belahree .....        | 5                            | 2          | 0              | 3                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 5      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 5        |   |
| ..     | Lucknow .....         | 74                           | 0          | 0              | 58                     | 0                                  | 0                     | 59     | 6          | 1                        | 8                     | 0                               | 0            | 74       |   |
| ..     | Belahree .....        | 7                            | 3          | 0              | 2                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 5      | 2          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 7        | { The 2 are acquitted on account of tender age.         |
| ..     | Chuprah .....         | 22                           | 0          | 0              | 22                     | 0                                  | 0                     | 22     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 22       | Approvers.  |
| 1838   | Mysore .....          | 156                          | 11         | 44             | 88                     | 6                                  | 6                     | 149    | 0          | 0                        | 7                     | 0                               | 0            | 156      | Including 17 approvers.                                 |
| ..     | Sholapoor .....       | 3                            | 0          | 0              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 0      | 3          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 3        |   |
| ..     | Vizagapatam .....     | 6                            | 2          | 0              | 0                      | 0                                  | 3                     | 3      | 5          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 5        |   |
| ..     | Ditto .....           | 33                           | 0          | 0              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 0      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 33       |   |
| ..     | Berhampore .....      | 153                          | 0          | 31             | 74                     | 18                                 | 6                     | 124    | 14         | 0                        | 12                    | 0                               | 0            | 150      | { Including 40 approvers, 3 remanded for investigation. |
| ..     | Dharwar .....         | 12                           | 3          | 0              | 7                      | 0                                  | 1                     | 11     | 0          | 0                        | 1                     | 0                               | 0            | 12       |   |
| ..     | Meerut .....          | 12                           | 0          | 0              | 10                     | 0                                  | 2                     | 12     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 12       |   |
| 1838   | Jubbulpore .....      | 285                          | 0          | 25             | 230                    | 11                                 | 0                     | 286    | 9          | 0                        | 10                    | 0                               | 0            | 285      | Including 74 approvers.                                 |
| 1839   | Meerut .....          | 8                            | 0          | 0              | 7                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 7      | 1          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 8        |   |
| ..     | Bangalore .....       | 11                           | 0          | 0              | 8                      | 1                                  | 0                     | 9      | 2          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 11       |   |
| ..     | Chuprah .....         | 100                          | 0          | 16             | 60                     | 0                                  | 0                     | 76     | 2          | 0                        | 10                    | 0                               | 0            | 88       |   |
| ..     | Meerut .....          | 98                           | 0          | 0              | 87                     | 0                                  | 0                     | 87     | 5          | 0                        | 1                     | 0                               | 0            | 93       |   |
| ..     | Moorshabad .....      | 99                           | 0          | 0              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 0      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 99       |   |
| ..     | Dana .....            | 115                          | 0          | 0              | 0                      | 0                                  | 12                    | 0      | 0          | 9                        | 0                     | 1                               | 1            | 115      |   |
| ..     | Jubbulpore .....      | 186                          | 0          | 1              | 97                     | 17                                 | 0                     | 115    | 8          | 0                        | 6                     | 0                               | 0            | 129      |   |
| 1840   | Ganjam .....          | 6                            | 6          | 0              | 0                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 6      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 6        |   |
| ..     | Ditto .....           | 5                            | 3          | 0              | 2                      | 0                                  | 0                     | 5      | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 5        |   |
| ..     | Meerut .....          | 11                           | 0          | 0              | 11                     | 0                                  | 0                     | 11     | 0          | 0                        | 0                     | 0                               | 0            | 11       |   |
|        |                       | 3669                         | 466        | 1504           | 933                    | 86                                 | 81                    | 8058   | 97         | 12                       | 208                   | 56                              | 3655         |          |   |

Total..... 3689  
 Committed in 1840, continued.  
 Jubbulpore ..... 15  
 Vizagapatam ..... 29  
 Bangalore ..... 4  
 For committal at Jubbulpore, 1841..... 102  
 Grand Total..... 3889

TABLE showing the Number of Persons Murdered by Thug Gangs in Bundelkund, Guzerat, the Dooab, &c., from the year 1826-27 to the year 1834;

Also, in some part, the Amount of Property plundered from them.

| Years.  |   | Men. | Women. | Total. |        | Valued Amount of Booty obtained.     | Rupees.               |
|---------|---|------|--------|--------|--------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
|         |   |      |        | Men.   | Women. |                                      |                       |
| 1822    | Kanthal Thugs .....                             | ..   | ..     | 25     | 1      | .....                                | 8800                  |
| 1823-24 | Ditto Ditto .....                               | ..   | ..     | 12     | ..     | .....                                | 7440                  |
| 1826-27 | Bundelkund Thugs .....                          | 364  | 21     | ..     | ..     | Treasure in Candesh.....             | 11,000                |
| 1827-28 | Ditto .....                                     | 238  | ..     | ..     | ..     | Chotu's gang ..... 76,902            |                       |
| ..      | Dooab .....                                     | 33   | 3      | 635    | 24     | Oomrowsing do. ..... 25,000          | 1,24,202              |
| ..      | Kanthal .....                                   | ..   | ..     | ..     | ..     | Feringhe's do. ..... 23,000          | 16,957                |
|         |   |      |        |        |        | Average ..... 238                    | 3348                  |
| 1828-29 | Bundelkund .....                                | 237  | 6      | ..     | ..     | Bheegoo's gang ..... 93,049          | 1,38,049              |
| ..      | Kanthal .....                                   | 104  | 4      | ..     | ..     | Burkul's do. ..... 45,000            | 25,000                |
| ..      | Dooab .....                                     | 99   | ..     | 440    | 10     | .....                                | 11,848                |
| 1829-30 | Bundelkund .....                                | 94   | 5      | ..     | ..     | Average of ordinary expeditions..... | 9,307                 |
| ..      | Dooab .....                                     | 187  | ..     | 281    | 5      | .....                                | 17,491                |
| 1830-31 | Bundelkund .....                                | 57   | 1      | ..     | ..     | Budaloo's gang ..... 3200            | 6,200                 |
| ..      | Dooab .....                                     | 249  | ..     | 306    | 1      | Average of the rest..... 3000        |                       |
| 1831-32 | Bundelkund .....                                | 176  | 4      | ..     | ..     | .....                                | 22,784                |
| ..      | Dooab .....                                     | 210  | ..     | 386    | 4      | Average of ordinary expeditions..... | 16,740                |
| 1832-33 | Bundelkund .....                                | 41   | ..     | 107    | ..     | .....                                | 18,770                |
| ..      | Dooab .....                                     | 156  | ..     | 158    | ..     | .....                                | 3,813                 |
| 1833-34 | Ditto .....                                     | ..   | ..     | 170    | ..     | .....                                | 14,845                |
| ..      | Arcot Thugs .....                               | ..   | ..     | 84     | ..     | .....                                | 18,342                |
| 1835-37 | Gwalla Thugs in South Cuttack .....             | ..   | ..     | 102    | ..     | All that is known .....              | 50,000                |
|         | Confessions of approvers to Captain Paton ..... | ..   | ..     | 3001   | 51     | Average .....                        | 17,100                |
|         |   | 5378 | ..     | .....  | .....  | .....                                | 9,480                 |
|         |   | 8379 | 51     | .....  | .....  | .....                                | 5,51,880              |
|         |   |      |        |        |        | Average of ordinary expeditions..... | 5,00,154              |
|         |   |      |        |        |        | Gross Total                          | Rupees..... 10,51,534 |

Provinces and Districts accounted for above:—1. Bundelkund—2. Central India—3. Dooab—4. Part of Malwa—5. Part of Rajpootana—6. Part of Cuttack—7. Part of Arcot.  
 Provinces and Districts not accounted for:—1. Bengal—2. Behar and Orissa—3. Mysore—4. Borah Mahal—5. Southern Dooab—6. South of India—7. Guzerat—8. Malabar and Canara—9. Assam—10. Northern Circars—11. Ceded Districts—12. Dekham—13. Nizam's Dominions—14. Nagpoor Dominions—15. Kutch.

\* The average is taken from the Dooab gangs, which afford a fair criterion of ordinary success—it gives about 93 rupees from each individual murdered.

## HOLLAND.

We are enabled to present to our readers the following extract of a letter from a gentleman in Holland to Mr. G. W. Alexander, dated

Amsterdam, 25th of 10th mo., 1841.

My DEAR FRIEND,—I had the pleasure of addressing thee in the beginning of this month, and of informing thee of the publication of a small work written by J. de Neufville A. Z., recommending the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the colony of Surinam, and proposing a plan for the accomplishment of that measure, which seems to have great affinity with the plan proposed to the French government by Jules le Chevalier. This plan, as I well presumed, is generally looked upon as inexecutable. Some of our periodicals have already expressed their opinion on the subject but one of them, (De Tydgenoot) the *Contemporary*, has pretended that the measure of emancipation was, perhaps, not so much wanted as the author seemed to suppose, the slaves were well treated, and enjoyed a welfare far superior to the situation of many classes of people in this country. A few days ago, however, a well written pamphlet, the author of which is I. Van Ouverkerk de Vries, a true philanthropist, who lives at Zeist, where the Moravians have an establishment, and who is well acquainted with them, has been published in this city. It bears the following title:—"The religious instruction of the negro slaves and the prosperity of the colony of Surinam in great danger. An important event considered in its possible consequences." This event is no less than the desertion to the colonies of Berbice and Demerara through the woods, first of eleven and later of twenty of the best slaves of the colony of *Nickerie*, where the Moravians had established a flourishing school; the consequence of this desertion has been, that the directors of the plantations have, from that time, forbidden both adults and children to attend the school: yet on first days the slaves are allowed to attend the public worship, but they are no longer permitted to learn to read and write. The consequence which the writer draws from this event is, that emancipation is the only remedy to this evil, and that, since the system of freedom has succeeded so well in the English colonies, as is evident to every one who has read the parliamentary reports, but more by the whole contents of J. J. Gurney's *Winter in the West Indies*, it is obvious that the same system of freedom is to be introduced in the colony. After this, the writer examines the work of my young friend, J. de Neufville, with whom he agrees as to what relates to the first part, viz., the five first chapters, but he differs from him on many points of the second part. There is a passage, page 16, which I deem worth while quoting here, as it clearly expresses the way of thinking of many people in this country. He speaks of de Neufville's work:—

"We wish, with the writer, that in our colonies also the emancipation of the slaves may be brought about. The love to our neighbours, who all, black or white, shall once appear on the same rank before the highest judge, requires that sacrifice on the altar of christianity and of moral civilization, which can be raised to a much higher degree in the free man than in the groaning and deep fallen slave. The writer believes, and we believe it with him, that the material interests of the land owners of the colonies require, in a pressing manner, their accession to this resolution. The introduction of new slaves has ceased. The number of the old and infirm, who must be maintained without any use, increases daily in proportion with those who are as yet active, and the generation forthcoming is on the decrease. The dreadful desertion of the ablest men to the free colonies is a warning which it would be inconsiderate to pass by. How baneful must not work here the force of example? Are the negroes once set at liberty, they will attach themselves to the ground on which they are established, where their parents are taken care of, and where their children are born, and the grounds now cultivated with a new force will remarkably rise in worth. Are they kept in the bondage and under the yoke of slavery, the best and most useful of them will run away. Natural love will be extinguished in them. Nothing will be left on the plantations but infirmaries filled with the old and the cripple, and, for want of cultivation, the ground will lose all its worth."

"We agree on all these points with the author; but besides, we dare believe that the great proprietors in West India, reflecting on this threatening danger, will soon acknowledge with us the reality of the danger, and how desirable it is to provide against it by adopting powerful measures, and, amongst others, the emancipation of the slaves. But how is this to be effected?"

After a refutation of the plan of J. de Neufville, the writer proposes his own plan, which I transcribe here, as it appears to me more likely to be approved than any other I have hitherto heard of.

"There shall be chosen in this country two or three commissioners who shall solicit of the government the necessary authorization to execute the following plan.

Every proprietor of one or more plantations in the colonies, or on the islands, shall deliver to those commissioners a declaration of the number and classification of his slaves.

"A certain quantity of sworn taxators shall take a survey of all the plantations, and confront those declarations, and lay down an estimation of the physical and intellectual capacity of the slaves, in presence and with the concurrence of the directors of the plantations. As soon as these taxators shall have terminated their operation, they shall send their work to the commissioners in the mother country. As soon as these taxations shall have been acknowledged and arrested, the negroes shall be set at liberty in a solemn manner.

"As soon as the whole amount of the value of the slaves in all our West Indian colonies shall be known, (we reckon that it will amount to about 15,000,000 £s.), the whole capital shall be negotiated (that is taken on loan) at 5 per cent. interest per year, and 2 to 3 per cent. yearly amortization.

"As soon as this sum shall have been negotiated, each proprietor shall receive in ready money the amount of the estimation of his slaves, on a mortgage on his grounds, and he shall be bound to pay 5 per cent. yearly interest on the same thus received, and 2 to 3 per cent. yearly amortization, till the whole be paid off, when he shall be considered as having received his full indemnity by a diminution of expenses, and by the increase of produce of his land, richly enough."

The slave population, J. O. de Vries supposes to be, in Surinam, from 30,000 to 40,000, and I think he guesses pretty right, though some

people bring it to 60,000. He imagines that the wood or free negroes will return to the colony as soon as freedom shall have been granted.

These two works have occasioned a great fermentation in the minds of the persons concerned with the colonies, and I hope ere long something will be done to come to a conclusion.

## THE DEMERARA AUXILIARY.

We insert with much pleasure the following letter from the Rev. JOSEPH KETLEY, of Demerara.

George Town, Demerara, 17th Sept. 1841.

Dear and esteemed friend.—I had wished to remit to you the sum I have in hand, which is about £70, for the anti-slavery society, by this mail; but I find I must defer it till the next opportunity. The greater part has been contributed by the lately emancipated of my own church and congregation, consequent on the formation of our auxiliary to your society, which took place on the evening of the 1st of August last, which was the first anniversary of my meeting with them since that glorious event. No notice had been previously given that such an auxiliary society was intended—but, when proposed in the afternoon of the day to a few of our brethren who took tea with us, and subsequently at the chapel, it was responded to with much delight—a few rules were proposed, and, though altogether unprepared, our dear friends expressed their feelings and sentiments in the happiest manner. They were surprised to hear of the continued cruelty of slavery in North America, and especially to find that the slave trade was carried forward with such a fearful impetus. They contrasted their own freedom as a reason for holy gratitude, and felt it their duty to assist that great society whose efforts had contributed so much to obtain their liberty, and to encourage those who are still labouring to liberate their suffering brethren. I will not attempt to write their fervent addresses—it would be quite impossible to convey to you their impressive manner. Though the meeting did not break up till near 10 o'clock at night, all was life and animated pleasure. Though reference was frequently had by them to their own afflictions formerly, nothing like an unkind reflection or a word indicative of hostility to the authors of their sorrow escaped them. All was the expression of gratitude to God, and sympathy for their suffering brethren. I have no doubt that this new society will yield an annual contribution to your society of at least £50, so long as you have need for your existence as such. As the mail bag is to be closed in a few minutes I hasten to conclude, but feel unwilling it should leave without sending you a line, and remain, dear and esteemed friend, faithfully yours

JOSEPH KETLEY.

## DR. PAUL AND THE REV. S. OUGHTON.

(To the Editor of the *Anti-slavery Reporter*.)

Kingston, Jamaica, 29th September, 1841.

Sir,—I acknowledge that I was not surprised at seeing a communication signed by the Reverend Mr. Oughton in your paper of the 11th August, 1841.

The conduct of that reverend gentleman, has been, I regret to say, any thing but correct, in propagating the most egregious falsehoods, and calumniating and vilifying my character and reputation, on the authority of one of the most abandoned of men; whilst he refuses every opportunity offered to him to make himself conversant with the facts, and be able to judge for himself.

It would be impossible for me, in a single letter, to enter into a refutation of the various calumnies and falsehoods contained in Mr. Oughton's letter already published, but I enclose for your information copies of correspondence which took place betwixt that gentleman and myself—hoping, that as you can have no interest but to disseminate the truth, you will do me the justice of inserting that correspondence, as well as my letter which appears in the *Morning Journal* of this date, in your paper. I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES PAUL, M.D.

Sub-agent of Immigrants at the Port of Kingston.

(Copy.)

To the Editor of the *Morning Journal*.

Sir,—It is with considerable reluctance I again address you, in elucidation of subjects which must have, long ere this, palled the public taste. But, when we see a minister of the gospel stepping out of the path laid down for him—when, instead of preaching and teaching peace and good will, he takes every means which malice can invent to blast the reputation of a fellow mortal, and, sheltering himself under the mask of philanthropy and sympathy, he not only propagates the most egregious falsehoods, but calumniates and vilifies those to whom he is opposed, I trust I shall be pardoned for saying a few words to the Rev. Samuel Oughton, who, not content to await the result of the investigation promised him by his Excellency the governor, has chosen to address a letter which appears in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of August 11th, 1841.

As to the abuse heaped upon me, I freely forgive the Rev. clergyman, for such language is no doubt common to him; and that he has been deceived I know, not only by his friend James Swallow (the grandson of the Reverend W. Uppadine), but by others, no doubt equally veracious, although moving in a more respectable sphere of life. But what apology can be made for the Rev. Mr. Oughton, in not accepting the invitation freely offered to him to examine and judge for himself, to meet at a friend's house, where, in the presence of a third party, I would not only give him "the fullest information on every subject regarding the Immigrants which have been under my care," but "reference to documents now in my possession, which for obvious reasons (he was aware) I could not make public?"

But this open and candid proposal did not suit the Rev. Mr. Oughton, nor his worthy co-adjudicators; and what was the reason assigned for not accepting this offer, freely and voluntarily made?

That "as he (Mr. Oughton) has been informed, that the facts detailed in the public papers have been forwarded to the King's house, and a public examination of them is about to take place, he thinks the cause of truth and justice will be much better promoted, and (if the charges be unfounded) the character of Dr. Paul much more fully vindicated, by a public, than it can be by any private investigation."

Here we have an acknowledgment that the character of Dr. Paul has been publicly assailed, calumniated, and traduced. The investigation here alluded to, was that called for by Mr. Richard Daly, stipendiary justice, from whom Mr. Oughton could only have derived his information. It will however appear strange (after all the hue and cry that has been made), not only to the Rev. Mr. Oughton, but to that portion of the community which has been led away by the misrepresentations from time to time so industriously circulated, that, when Mr. Daly was required to state his charges against me, and the grounds for desiring a public investigation, after some evasion, he actually declared that his object in tendering information was not for the purpose of bringing charges against the sub-agent; and the investigation sought was for his (Mr. Daly's) own protection. Such subterfuge and jesuitical hypocrisy are even what the Rev. Samuel Oughton, I am sure, is not prepared for.

With regard to the case of James Swallow I need not say one word—the whole matter having already engaged the attention of his Excellency the Governor; but as the Rev. Mr. Oughton, in his letter, states that he sent it to the governor, but that he does not yet know the result, I trust I shall be exonerated in making use of the following extract of a letter on the subject from Captain Higginson to the Honorable J. Ewart, agent-general, dated "King's House, July 23rd, 1841."

"I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th, submitting Dr. Paul's explanation in reply to the complaint of the man Swallow, and I am to request that you will inform the sub-agent, that the explanation of his proceedings in the case, appears to the Governor to be entirely satisfactory."

So much for the Rev. Samuel Oughton and his friend Swallow, and the liberal and benevolent special magistrate, Mr. Daly, as the latter gentleman is designated in Mr. Oughton's letter. I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES PAUL.

(Copy.)

Kingston, 5th August, 1841.

REVEREND SIR,—Understanding that you are the writer of the letter signed *Philanthropist*, which appeared in the *Baptist Herald* of the 21st July, I cannot but regret that you should have allowed yourself to be so deceived, as to pen so gross a calumny as is set forth to the world in the following paragraph, viz., "The admiral's pen (appropriated as the chief dépôt of the immigrants) is a complete 'Golgotha,' disease, privation, misery, and death, having for some time past reigned there in their most awful forms. The man (if man he can be called) who exercises authority over those victims of colonial duplicity, is revelling in the profits of his short lived commission, regardless of the destruction and woe which his guilty neglect and abuse of power are spreading everywhere around him, while those who prompted, by compassion, would administer comfort or relief to the sick and dying, only expose themselves to the vulgar abuse and unfeeling insolence of this petty despot."

You may have seen in the papers of this city of Saturday last, by the abstracts of my weekly returns put in juxtaposition with an extract from the letter of *Philanthropist*, how utterly at variance with truth was the information given you on that point; and you may judge from that how misinformed you may have been upon others. It is no wish of mine to return evil for evil, or to take advantage of any one who has been deceived and misinformed; and I therefore invite you to a free conference at the house of common friend, and there, in the presence of a third person, also a common friend to both, to give you the fullest information on every subject regarding the immigrants which have been under my care, and reference to documents now in my possession, which for obvious reasons you must be aware I cannot make public.

I beg to observe that this communication is not made, either to induce you to commit yourself or others. Putting aside the writer, publisher, &c., of the libel against me (proof of all which is ready, in case I shall hereafter consider it necessary to proceed to trial), I invite you to this examination, knowing that truth is ever triumphant, and will force itself, however strong the attempt may be to crush it: and I do this, in the true feeling of christian charity, seeing and knowing that you have been wickedly deceived, feeling confident that when you become acquainted with the circumstances, you will acknowledge (whatever your feelings may be regarding immigration to this island) that every attention and care has been bestowed on the sick immigrants at the dépôt. I am, reverend sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES PAUL.

To the rev. S. Oughton.

(Copy.)

Baptist Mission House, Kingston, August 6th, 1841.

Samuel Oughton presents his compliments to Dr. Paul, and begs leave most respectfully to decline the honour of a private interview on the subject of the recently imported immigrants.

In coming to this determination, S. O. trusts that Dr. Paul will acquit him of any indifference as to an acquaintance with the real state of the immigrants, or disregard to the reputation of Dr. Paul: but, as he has been informed that the facts detailed in the public papers, have been forwarded to the King's house, and a public examination of them is about to take place, he thinks the cause of truth and justice will be much better promoted, and (if the charges be unfounded) the character of Dr. Paul much more fully vindicated by a public, than it can be by any private investigation. At the same time S. O. begs Dr. Paul distinctly to understand, that he by no means admits the correctness of Dr. Paul's information as to his being the author of the letter signed *Philanthropist*.

S. Oughton would have replied to Dr. Paul's favour much earlier, but important duties detained him at the Court-House until evening.

Dr. James Paul.

(Copy.)

Kingston, 7th August, 1841.

Reverend Sir,—Had I not had his Excellency's approval of my conduct on every case submitted to him against me, I should not have invited you to a full examination of every circumstance regarding the immigrants which have been under my care.

I disavow most distinctly any wish for a private interview, for my letter particularly stated, that that interview was to be in the presence of a third party.

What I did, Sir, was to save you from the merited disgrace which must attend the malicious libeller of a fellow-being—and I regret, deeply regret,

that any one assuming the sacred functions of a minister of the gospel should so far lend himself, as to be made the tool of designing men. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES PAUL.

Rev. Samuel Oughton.

#### WEST INDIES.

BARBADOS—A very trying time indeed have our planters had of it since 1838. Heavy rain in a partial way—some parishes having it abundantly, others parched with drought to a most awful extent, especially in the large and important parishes of St. Philip and Christ Church, the former being, we are grieved to hear, in a deplorably distressing state, no heavy rain, we understand, having fallen since October, 1840; and, where some late showers, giving the promise of more, afforded the planters an opportunity of planting corn and potatoes, their labour, alas, has been lost by succeeding drought, fiercely hot sun, and the destructive progress of the worm, which is destroying the food before it comes near maturity. As to the sugar crop in the windward part of the island, we apprehend it will be little or none; some estates we are told will not make a single cask of sugar. No one, as we are informed, can conceive the awful state of the parish of St. Philip, unless he has ocular demonstration of it. In this parish, St. Michael's, we see almost all the Indian corn, planted after the rains in June and July, utterly destroyed by the worm; and we fear that the potatoes, vast abundance of which had been planted, and are at present looking healthy and vigorous, will also not escape the ravages of the insect.

The year 1842 will, in all human probability, shew a third short crop of sugar—a lamentable prospect for many proprietors, and a severe blow to all persons engaged in the various pursuits of trade and commerce. Under such distressing circumstances, when the earth ceases to yield her increase, how are the numerous poor to be assisted? The most benevolently disposed are, from their own pressing necessities and pecuniary difficulties, prevented from indulging their charitable feelings.—*Barbadian*.

On this subject we find the following painful statement made during a discussion in the House of Assembly.

Mr. Applewhaite—I beg leave, Mr. Speaker, to offer a few remarks on the question before the house, and more especially on the observations of the honourable member for St. Thomas's (Dr. Bascom.) I cannot coincide with the honourable member in any way on this subject, because I know that the poor in the land are suffering actual privations. It is impossible, sir, that the lower—the poorer—class, can purchase the clothing. I could to-day have presented a petition signed by numerous inhabitants, and I assure you, sir, that I cannot recur to the subject without laying before you some strong and impressive observations, which I am sure will cause you something like pity for the poor! Sir, they are not able to carry their dead to the church to be interred! They are forced to inter them at home! not having the means to give them decent interment—not being able to give them a coffin! They are in a state of nudity. They are in a state of *starvation*!! Unless something be done, it will be impossible, I say, to enforce this act. It is true—and my worthy colleague, Mr. Briggs, well knows that the present state of the inhabitants of St. Philip surpasses the conception of any man except those who are witnesses to it—we ought to endeavour to relieve the distresses of those families which are perishing for want. There are many of these persons, sir, in the greatest misery, and scarcely able to keep themselves alive. With regard to the assertion that sufficient time has been allowed the inhabitants for providing themselves, look, sir, at the ten months drought—the barren condition of the island. Many are not able to pay their dues! and, I have known their covering to have been taken from under their bodies, to liquidate the small sums which they are owing! The distress, I repeat, sir, is unknown. Applications have been made to the pastors and the vestry, for some who have not clothes to cover their nakedness! I trust, therefore, sir, that the house will pause before it plunges these children of misfortune into ruin—if it can be greater than at present.

ANTIGUA.—Extract of a letter to Mr. Sturge, dated Antigua, September 16th, 1841.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of writing, to inform you of the progress of liberty, and the state of things here. When you left us, it was considered very impolitic to sell land to the emancipated slaves to domicile, lest they should be detached from the cultivation of the estates. They were therefore obliged to continue in the wretched huts they occupied when slaves, which are anything but calculated to raise them to decent habits; and by the contract and vagrant laws they were compelled to work only on the property on which they lived, on very small wages, or be subject to molestation, fines and penalties. This state of things occasioned great annoyance and vexation. Rather than submit to this, many hundreds have emigrated to Trinidad, which would not have taken place if independent villages had been generally established. It is true, they might leave the estate on giving a month's notice, but they could only be removed to another estate, where they would be similarly situated. This in some measure resembled the old system. After some time, by various means many became detached from the plantations, particularly the young, and those who were so happy as to gain a residence in a village (for two persons had been induced to sell land for the purpose) or elsewhere. These hired themselves to the estates at double the wages of the negroes residing on the property. These have increased, so that there is no estate without a gang of this description, who readily obtain employment, and, so far from not working as was supposed, they are the best labourers.

One evil arises from this, the children and young people are sent to the estates to work, and not where their parents and relations live, which exposes them to evil company and temptation, especially young females, and, on the contrary, other young people work on their estates. They do this to avoid the contract law and obtain higher wages. But those who live in the free villages are subject to no fines, penalties, &c., have built themselves comfortable dwellings, and, having more pay, they live in comfort, and generally in domestic happiness, attached to some church, and concerned to bring up their children in the fear of God. I am happy to say that the planters are now selling land in small lots, and, though at the enormous rate of 500 to 700 dollars per acre, they are eagerly bought, and several villages are springing up in various parts of the island, and, with God's blessing, we hope much good will arise in consequence.

**St. CHRISTOPHER.**—We have sincere gratification in giving publicity to a circumstance, which as it affects the general good of the island, and redounds to the credit of an exceedingly humane and sensible proprietor, is doubly gratifying. The peasantry on the *Golden Rock*, *Evan Baillies*, *Mornes*, and *Willetts* Estates, and his honor Mr. Solicitor-General Claxton, have entered into terms, for renting, for various terms, the cottages and provision grounds on those properties. His Honor is the proprietor of *Golden Rock*, and represents the owners of the other two properties. We would be understood as mentioning the foregoing example, as much for the imitation of the peasantry of the island as for that of their employers, for we are aware that some few other proprietors have offered the rent system to their dependants, in some instances with only partial success, and in others without any success at all. Possibly the failure may be attributable to the absence of full explanations on the one hand, or an imperfect understanding of the advantages of renting on the other—or to the fact that no proportionate increase to the labourer's present rate of wages has accompanied the offer. Wherever rent in money is demanded, it seems but natural and just that the labourer should look for a rise in the money price of his labour.—*St. George's Gazette*.

**MONTSERRAT.**—In his address to the Council and House of Assembly on his assuming the government of this island, the hon. E. D. Baynes uses the following language:—

"The good understanding which I find generally subsisting between the resident proprietors and managers of estates and the labouring population employed by them, is a source of unmixed gratification to me. You have sagely forborne from that harassing system of special and superfluous legislation, which, since the extinction of slavery in these colonies, has in many other islands unhappily set the landlord and labourer at variance. You have wisely 'left well alone,' and, providing fewer legislative means to meet the presumed necessities of the great change, have for that reason, in my opinion, been more successful than your neighbours. Your agricultural population have in consequence their freedom guaranteed to them, a sufficient safeguard, by the same laws which protect the liberties of the peasantry of Great Britain; and I have every reason to believe that they are as orderly and industrious, and at the same time as free and independent, as any rural population on the face of the globe. You have also, with equal discretion, avoided the pernicious scheme of combining together the naturally distinct questions of rent and labour, so as to leave the former without any basis, to fluctuate according to the arbitrarily presumed quantity of the latter afforded by the tenant. A serious evil; and one which has been productive of much evil in the important colony of Jamaica, the shores of which I have so recently left."

We make from a private letter from this island the following extract:— "Emigration is going on here to a great extent, and I greatly fear that much deceit is practised to allure the population to the pestilential shores of Trinidad, where the climate soon carries them off. What speaks volumes for the orderly and peaceable conduct of the population lately emancipated, is, that, with a population of 8000 souls, we have, as stated in the speech, neither King's troops nor militia on the island, and not more than a dozen constables—yet even a disturbance in the street is a thing unknown. This fact deserves publicity."

**IMPORTS INTO TRINIDAD.**—By the official returns it appears that the imports of 1840 exceeded those of 1839 by the enormous sum of £111,420 sterling, being an increase of rather more than 25 per cent. in one year; the amount for 1839 being £397,020, and for 1840 £508,440 sterling. The government are said to ascribe this large increase altogether to the immigrants, and the *Standard* agrees with them. It is no doubt partly so.

**TRANSFER OF LIBERATED AFRICANS FROM BRAZIL TO GUIANA.**—The colony steamer, the *Venezuela*, returned yesterday from her voyage to Rio Janeiro, after an absence of eighty-five days. On arriving at Rio, the commander was very well received by Mr. Ousley, the British minister in Brazil, and by the officers of the squadron there, and every readiness was exhibited to aid and promote the object of her visit. She had the captured Africans on board ready to depart in eight days after her arrival, but she was detained some sixteen days longer waiting for convoy, as the minister did not think it safe to let her depart except under the protection of a ship of war. She sailed at length under convoy of the *Rose*, and the necessity of this protection was the more evident, as the Brazilians did not suffer her to leave the harbour, escorted as she was, without firing one or two shots at her. The court of mixed commission at Rio has been in the habit of binding out the Africans liberated by that court, as apprentices to the people of Rio and the neighbourhood, and, practically, apprenticeship has been only another name for slavery. Of course, the Brazilians are in no very good humour at the prospect of this absurd system being broken up by sending the captured Africans to a British colony.—*Guiana Gazette*.

**IMMIGRATION.**—The arrival of the *Superior*, with 224 Africans on board, has once more attracted general notice to our prospects of Immigration from Sierra Leone. When this vessel, which is admirably fitted up, left the African coast, there were, the commander says, a thousand people who would have come in her had there been room for them. Many thousands more expressed a wish to follow, a very decided preference being given to Guiana over Jamaica and Trinidad. This preference we think we are entitled to ascribe to the judicious and manly expedient which was had recourse to, of sending back to Africa some persons among the first batch of immigrants, to communicate the observations which they had made during a free and pretty extensive perambulation through the country. We cannot say that immigration from the islands is proceeding so rapidly as could be wished. The quarantine at Barbados has impeded it. Up to to-day, the number introduced in September from all quarters has not equalled the half of what we are already fairly entitled to regard as the proper monthly average, 1500.—*Ibid.*

**TAX ORDINANCE.**—We give in another column part of a letter of Mr. Scoble to the *Anti-slavery Reporter*, relating to the late tax ordinance of this colony. Mr. Scoble is very much of a partisan, and is so anxious to make out a case that he does not always confine himself to literal facts, but gives his imagination rather a free indulgence. Nevertheless we are decidedly of opinion, that many of the provisions of the late tax ordinance might better have been omitted. They have too much the air of pressing hard upon the labouring classes; and many of them,

we are persuaded, will add very little to the revenue. Indeed, we have no idea they will produce enough to pay the salaries of the commissioners appointed to look after their enforcement.—*Ibid.*

#### UNITED STATES.

**THE IMPRISONED ABOLITIONISTS.**—The three young men arrested at Palmyra, Mo., for an alleged attempt to entice away slaves, were recently brought up for trial. On bringing the case before the grand jury, it was found that there was no law for the punishment of any such offence as they had been charged with. They had only attempted to entice away slaves, against which there is no law. The general understanding was, that they would not be indicted. But such was the excitement at the place, that it was feared that, if liberated, the young men would fall victims to the brutal and lawless vengeance of the slave-holders, without trial. Yet this is called a free country! It could not be worse in Algiers.—*Friend of Man*.

James Burr, A. Work, and George Thompson, the three abolitionists, who were arrested some time ago in attempting to run off Mr. Brown's negroes, have been tried in Marion. We learn from one of the council engaged that the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and the prisoners were sentenced to twelve years service in the penitentiary.—*St. Louis Republican*.

**COLONEL MILLER.**—The agent who has offered to go to the south under the auspices of the Vermont Anti-slavery Society, defraying his own expenses, is H. W. W. Miller. He is, as we suppose, the same Colonel Miller who distinguished himself by his persevering efforts in behalf of the Greeks, in their late struggle for independence.—*Anti-Slavery Standard*.

**THEY ARE A STUPID RACE.**—Of the many cunning contrivances to escape from slavery, we think the following is about the most shrewd we have heard yet. Two slaves in a certain county of Virginia ran away with one of their master's horses. They started very early in the morning, in the following fashion. One of the slaves fastened a strong rope round the other's body, tied him to the saddle and drove off. When met and questioned, the rider answered, "That black rascal undertook to run away from massa. I've caught him, and am taking him home, quick step. I guess he won't be for running away again in a hurry, after massa's had the cooking of him." This failed not to elicit warm approbation, accompanied with hospitable offers of refreshment for himself and his horse. When arrived at a convenient place, the slaves exchanged places; the rider submitting to the rope in his turn, while the other performed his part to admiration; and like, him, received assistance and praise for his honest zeal in his master's service. Thus they journeyed "in tie," till they reached Pennsylvania, when the rope was no longer necessary. Thence they passed over into Canada.—*A. S. Standard*.

**CAPTURED SLAVES.**—From letters just received from her Majesty's ship *Fantome*, it appears that she has just taken another prize, being the thirteenth, which shows the horrors of the slave trade in another light. The prize was a schooner 30 feet in length by 9 feet beam, and had on board 105 slaves, with two exceptions under seven years of age, besides the crew. The vessel was barely twenty tons burden, and the deck on which the slaves were stowed was only eighteen inches clear, from the mat they lay on to the deck between the beams. It is a curious circumstance that all the prizes taken by Captain Butterfield have been captured on a Sunday.—*Morning Chronicle*.

The following is from a letter of an officer on board H. M. B. *Water-Witch*, dated off Benguela, 4th August, 1841.—"We have just taken another prize, the Portuguese brigantine *Corsico*, with 392 slaves. She was taken by our boats last night, after a hard pull of six hours. Willcox had charge of the boats. The slaves are in a shocking state, very much crowded, and the small-pox had already broken out. 5th Aug.—I certainly never beheld such a scene of complicated misery as our prize presents this morning 392 wretched creatures crammed into a small vessel of 80 tons, nearly all children; 12 cases of small-pox, and about 50 cases of itch; it will prove a blessing if it spread rapidly, for it will save them from taking the small-pox. Most of them are living skeletons, mere skin and bone; 10 or 12 of the women have children at the breast, a few months old. It is scarcely possible that the latter should survive the passage, even to St. Helena. I dread sending away an officer and men in such a floating pest house!"—*Ibid.*

**BRAZIL.**—**IMPORTATION OF SLAVES.**—The latest accounts from this country state, that the number of negroes imported has very much decreased, and whilst it amounted in previous years to 30,000, may be stated now to be about 6000 per annum. The reason is, that the English cruisers, instead of detaining and examining ships on the coast of Africa, are performing this duty now on the very coast of the Brazils, and if any vessel is suspected from its internal arrangement to be a slaver, it is brought back and condemned as such. The present ministry seems not to be favourable to this sort of traffic, and prefer encouraging the immigration of European colonists. Five hundred French emigrants who, under the leadership of Dr. Mure, are about to establish a colony at St. Catarina, according to the system Fourrier, have received a government grant of 135,000 francs towards their passage, besides a tract of land, given to them by a private gentleman.—*Morning Chronicle*.

**COMMUNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS.**—At a meeting of the Particular Baptist Church in Sutton, Yorkshire, held Nov. 6th, 1841, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—That we hold modern slavery to be opposed to the principles of justice and the precepts of the gospel; and, learning that there are many professing christians in different parts of the world, and especially in the United States of America, who are guilty of holding their fellow creatures, and even their fellow christians, in bondage, we feel it to be our solemn duty to refuse communion at the Lord's Table to all persons known to be slave-holders, as those who are not entitled to the privileges of christian fellowship, until they repent of this their sin against God. Signed on behalf of the Church, John Parkinson, Charles Asquith, Samuel Bairston.